Mary Ralfe

THE

LIFE

OF THE LATE

EARL of CHESTERFIELD:

OR, THE

MAN OF THE WORLD.

INCLUDING

His LORDSHIP's principal SPEECHES in PARLIAMENT;

His moſt admired ESSAYS in the Paper called,

THE WORLD;

His POEMS;

And the Subſtance of the

SYSTEM of EDUCATION,

DELIVERED IN A

SERIES OF LETTERS TO HIS SON.

DUBLIN:

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M DCC LXXIV.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE influence of EXAMPLE is univerſally allowed to be ſuperior to that of precept: the Lives of eminent men, therefore, have in all ages been conſidered, as the moſt effectual means of inſtruction; and they are certainly the moſt pleaſing. It is to be lamented, however, that the men whoſe actions have been the moſt faithfully, and the moſt eloquently related, have often been the leaſt proper for imitation; or have been placed in circumſtances which ſeldom occur in the run of human affairs. Happily neither of theſe objections can lie againſt this performance. The virtues and talents of the earl of Cheſterfield were equally conſpicuous; his accompliſhments were unrivalled; and his ſituations were thoſe which are of moſt importance to the welfare of theſe kingdoms. A Britiſh ſenator; a foreign envoy; a ſecretary of ſtate; a lord lieutenant of Ireland; a private nobleman; a ſcholar; a man of taſte, and a man of faſhion, are characters which he filled with equal eaſe, propriety, and dignity. At once the man of genius, buſineſs, and elegance, he truly deſerved that epithet, of which he was ſo fond, and which he ſo often repeats in his Letters to his Son, the *omnis homo*, or *all-accompliſhed* Cheſterfield.

Well therefore might the poet ſay,

" O thou, whoſe wiſdom, ſolid yet refin'd,
Whoſe patriot-virtues and conſummate ſkill
To touch the finer ſprings that move the world
Join'd to whate'er the graces can beſtow,
And all Apollo's animating fire,
Give thee with pleaſing dignity to ſhine
At once the guardian, ornament, and joy
Of poliſh'd life;—permit the rural Muſe,
O Cheſterfield! to grace with thee her ſong;

Ere to the ſhades again ſhe humbly flies,
Indulge her fond ambition in thy train,
(For every Muſe has in thy train a place)
To mark thy various full-accompliſh'd mind:
To mark that ſpirit, which, with Britiſh ſcorn,
Rejects th' allurements of corrupted power;
That elegant politeneſs which excels
Even in the judgment of preſumptuous France,
The boaſted manners of her ſhining court:
That wit, the vivid energy of ſenſe,
The truth of nature, which with Attic point,
And kind well-tempered ſatire, ſmoothly keen,
Steals through the ſoul, and without pain corrects.
Or, riſing thence, with yet a brighter flame,
O let me hail thee on ſome glorious day,
When to the liſtening ſenate ardent crowd
Britannia's ſons to hear her pleaded cauſe!
Then dreſs'd by thee, more amiably fair,
Truth the ſoft robe of mild perſuaſion wears:
Thou to aſſenting reaſon giveſt again
Her own enlighten'd thoughts; call'd from the heart,
Th' obedient paſſions on thy voice attend;
And e'en reluctant party feels a while
Thy gracious pow'r! as through the varied maze
Of Eloquence, now ſmooth, now quick, now ſtrong,
Profound and clear, you roll the copious flood."

THOMPSON.

He was indeed, what he attempted to form his ſon, and what this work is intended to exemplify, in the Life and Writings of the father, the complete MAN of the WORLD.

THE

THE MAN of the WORLD;

OR, THE LIFE OF THE LATE Earl of CHESTERFIELD.

CHAP. I.

His Lordſhip's Birth, and Progreſs in Letters and Politeneſs.

PHILIP DORMER STANHOPE, earl of Cheſterfield, was born on the 22d day of September, in the year 1695. His father, the third earl of Cheſterfield, was deſcended by his Mother from the family of Caernarvon; hence the name DORMER: and his own mother, lady Elizabeth Saville, was daughter and coheir to George marquis of Halifax. Several other circumſtances conſpired to offer this young nobleman as fair a proſpect as any perſon of his rank and fortune could deſire; and he did not fail to improve them. His family had diſtinguiſhed itſelf in the cauſe of K. Charles I. for it had been inſtrumental in bringing about the Reſtoration; and his father had enjoyed ſeveral poſts of honour under king Charles II. but he had happily renounced all connexion with the

court a conſiderable time before the Revolution: the road to political eminence was therefore open.

The broad licentiouſneſs of the cavaliers, and the ſanctified rudeneſs of the puritans, had now both received ſome poliſh. Manners began to be underſtood. A good taſte in letters was beginning to dawn. Learning was the faſhion; and the chief nobility encouraged it, equally by example and patronage. It was not yet diſhonourable for a nobleman to be a ſcholar. Young Stanhope was ſoon an expert one; and, if we may believe himſelf, ſomewhat of a pedant.

"My firſt prejudice," ſays he, "was my claſſical enthuſiaſm, which I received from the books I read, and the maſters who explained them to me. I was convinced there had been no common ſenſe or common honeſty in the world for theſe laſt fifteen hundred years; but that they were totally extinguiſhed with the ancient Greek and Roman governments. Homer and Virgil could have no faults, becauſe they were ancient; Milton and Taſſo could have no merit, becauſe they were modern. And I could almoſt have ſaid with regard to the ancients, what Cicero, very abſurdly and unbecomingly for a philoſopher, ſays with regard to Plato, *Cum quo errare malim, quàm cum aliis rectè ſentire.*"

This was the fault of his age. The ancients were then looked upon as the invariable ſtandards of fine writing and juſt thinking. Their very errors were idolized. But his lordſhip's mind was too liberal to be long fettered with ſuch a prejudice.

"Whereas I have now diſcovered," continues he, (alluding to what he had formerly ſaid) "that nature was the ſame three thouſand years ago, as it is at preſent; that men were but men then as well as now; that modes and cuſtoms vary often, but that human nature is always the ſame. And I can no more ſuppoſe, that men were better, braver, or wiſer,

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wiſer, fifteen hundred or three thouſand years ago, than I can ſuppoſe that the animals and vegetables were better then, than they are now."

In another letter he is more particular on the ſubject of pedantry; it's effects upon his manners; and how he got free of it.

"At nineteen," ſays he, "I left the univerſity of Cambridge, where I was an abſolute pedant: when I talked my beſt, I quoted Horace: when I aimed at being facetious, I quoted Martial; and when I had a mind to be a fine gentleman, I talked of Ovid. I was convinced that none but the ancients had common ſenſe; that the claſſics contained every thing that was either neceſſary, uſeful, or ornamental to men; and I was not without thoughts of wearing the *toga virilis* of the Romans, inſtead of the vulgar and illiberal dreſs of the moderns.

"With theſe excellent notions, I went firſt to the Hague, where by the help of ſeveral letters of recommendation, I was ſoon introduced into all the beſt company; and where I very ſoon diſcovered, that I was totally miſtaken in almoſt every one notion I had entertained. Fortunately, I had a ſtrong deſire to pleaſe, (the mixed reſult of good-nature, and a vanity by no means blameable) and was ſenſible, that I had nothing but the deſire. I therefore reſolved, if poſſible, to acquire the means too. I ſtudied attentively and minutely the dreſs, the air, the manner, the addreſs and the turn of converſation of all thoſe whom I found to be the people in faſhion, and moſt generally allowed to pleaſe. I imitated them as well as I could: if I heard that one man was reckoned remarkably genteel, I carefully watched his dreſs, motions and attitudes, and formed my own upon them. If I heard of another, whoſe converſation was agreeable and engaging, I liſtened and attended to the turn of it. I addreſſed myſelf, though *de très mauvaiſe grace*, to

all the moſt faſhionable fine ladies; confeſſed, and laughed with them at my own aukwardneſs and rawneſs, recommending myſelf as an object for them to try their ſkill in forming.

"By theſe means, and with a paſſionate deſire of pleaſing every body, I came by degrees to pleaſe ſome; and, I can aſſure you, [his ſon] that what little figure I have made in the world, has been much more owing to that paſſionate deſire I had of pleaſing univerſally, than to any intrinſic merit, or ſound knowledge I might ever have been maſter of. My paſſion for pleaſing was ſo ſtrong, (and I am very glad it was ſo) that I own to you fairly, I wiſhed to make every woman I ſaw, in love with me, and every man I met with, admire me. Without this paſſion for the object, I ſhould never have been ſo attentive to the means; and own I cannot conceive how it is poſſible for any man of good-nature and good ſenſe to be without this paſſion. Does not good-nature incline us to pleaſe all thoſe we converſe with, of whatever rank or ſtation they may be? And does not good ſenſe, and common obſervation, ſhow of what infinite uſe it is to pleaſe? 'Oh! but one may pleaſe by the good qualities of the heart, and the knowledge of the head, without that faſhionable air, addreſs, and manner, which is mere tinſel.' I deny it. A man may be eſteemed and reſpected, but I defy him to pleaſe without them."

In a third letter he gives a ſtill more minute account of his literary aukwardneſs: and, what will hardly be credited by thoſe who have ſeen him only in his riper years, of his ſheepiſh baſhfulneſs; which he illuſtrates by an entertaining anecdote.

After having told his ſon, that though good ſenſe can only give him the out-lines of good breeding, obſervation and uſage muſt give him the delicate touches, and the fine colouring, he proceeds thus:

—"I

— "I remember," ſays he, in his eaſy familiar way, "that when, with all the aukwardneſs and ruſt of Cambridge about me, I was firſt introduced into good company, I was frightened out of my wits. I was determined to be, what I thought civil; I made fine low bows, and placed myſelf below every body; but when I was ſpoken to, or attempted to ſpeak myſelf, *obſtupui, ſteteruntque comæ, et vox faucibus hæſit.* If I ſaw people whiſper, I was ſure it was at me; and I thought myſelf the ſole object, of either the ridicule or cenſure of the whole company: who, God knows, did not trouble their heads about me.

"In this way I ſuffered, for ſome time, like a criminal at the bar; and ſhould certainly have renounced all polite company for ever, if I had not been convinced of the abſolute neceſſity of forming my manners upon thoſe of the beſt companies, that I determined to perſevere, and ſuffer any thing, or every thing, rather than not compaſs that point. Inſenſibly it grew eaſier to me; and I began not to bow ſo ridiculouſly low, and to anſwer queſtions without great heſitation or ſtammering: if, now and then, ſome charitable people, ſeeing my embarraſſment, and being *deſœuvré* themſelves, came and ſpoke to me, I conſidered them as angels ſent to comfort me; and that gave me a little courage.

"I got more courage ſoon afterwards, and was intrepid enough to go up to a fine woman, and tell her that I thought it a warm day; ſhe anſwered me, very civilly, that ſhe thought ſo too; upon which the converſation ceaſed, on my part, for ſome time, till ſhe, good-naturedly reſuming it, ſpoke to me thus: 'I ſee your embarraſſment, and I am ſure that the few words you ſaid to me, coſt you a great deal; but do not be diſcouraged for that reaſon, and avoid good company. We ſee that you do deſire to pleaſe, and that is the main point;

you want only the manner, and you think that you want it ſtill more than you do. You muſt go thro' your noviciate before you can profeſs good-breeding; and if you will be my Novice, I will preſent you to my acquaintance as ſuch.'

" You will eaſily imagine how much this ſpeech pleaſed me, and how aukwardly I anſwered it; I hemm'd once or twice (for it gave me a bur in the throat) before I could tell her, that I was very much obliged to her; that it was true, that I had a great deal of reaſon to diſtruſt my own behaviour, not being uſed to fine company; and that I ſhould be proud of being her Novice, and receiving her inſtructions. As ſoon as I had fumbled out this anſwer, ſhe called up three or four people to her, and ſaid, *Sçavez vous*, &c. (for ſhe was a foreigner, and I was abroad) ' Do you know that I have undertaken this young man, and he muſt be encouraged? — You will aſſiſt me in poliſhing him. — As for me, I believe I have made a conqueſt of him; for he juſt now ventured to tell me, though tremblingly, that it is warm. He muſt neceſſarily have a paſſion for ſomebody; and if he does not think me worthy of it, we will find him another. But happen what may, my Novice, do not diſgrace yourſelf by frequenting opera girls and actreſſes; who will ſpare you the expence of ſentiment and politeneſs, but will coſt you more in every other reſpect. I repeat it, my friend, if you herd with ſuch creatures, you will be undone. They will deſtroy both your fortune and your health, corrupt your manners, and prevent you from ever acquiring the ſtile of good company.'

" The company laughed at this lecture, and I was ſtunned with it. I did not know whether ſhe was ſerious or in jeſt. By turns I was pleaſed, aſhamed, encouraged, and dejected. But when I found, afterwards, that both ſhe, and thoſe to whom

whom ſhe had preſented me, countenanced and protected me in company, I gradually got more aſſurance, and began not to be aſhamed of endeavouring to be civil. I copied the beſt maſters, at firſt ſervilely, afterwards more freely, and at laſt, I joined habit and invention."

This deſire of pleaſing, mingled with a certain ſhare of vanity, to which he profeſſes himſelf a friend, ſoon procured him, as he himſelf informs us, a conſiderable eminence in the polite world. His own words only can do juſtice to his ſentiments.

"Vanity or to call it by a gentler name, the deſire of admiration and applauſe, is, perhaps," ſays he, "the moſt univerſal principle of human actions; I do not ſay that it is the beſt; and I will own, that it is ſometimes the cauſe of both fooliſh and criminal effects. But it is ſo much oftener the principle of right things, that, though they ought to have a better, yet, conſidering human nature, that principle is to be encouraged and cheriſhed, in conſideration of its effects. Where that deſire is want ing, we are apt to be indifferent, liſtleſs, indolent, and inert; we do not exert our powers; and we appear to be as much below ourſelves, as the vaineſt man living can deſire to appear above what he really is.

"As I have made you (his ſon) my confeſſor, and do not ſcruple to confeſs even my weakneſſes to you, I will fairly own, that I had that vanity, that weakneſs, if it be one, to a prodigious degree; and, what is more, I confeſs it without repentance; nay, I am glad I had it: ſince if I have had the good fortune to pleaſe in the world, it is to that powerful and active principle that I owe it.

"I began the world, not with a bare deſire, but with an inſatiable thirſt, a rage of popularity, applauſe, and admiration. If this made me do ſome ſilly things, on one hand, it made me, on the other hand, do almoſt all the right things that I did: it

made me attentive and civil to the women I diſliked, and to the men I deſpiſed, in hopes of the applauſe of both: though I never deſired, nor would I have accepted the favours of the one, nor the friendſhip of the other.

"I always dreſſed, looked, and talked my beſt; and, I own, was overjoyed whenever I perceived that by all three, or by any one of them, the company was pleaſed with me. To men, I talked whatever I thought would give them the beſt opinion of my parts and learning; and, to women, what I was ſure would pleaſe them; flattery, gallantry, and love. And moreover I will own to you, under the ſecrecy of confeſſion, that my vanity has very often made me take great pains to make many a woman in love with me, if I could, for whoſe perſon I would not have given a pinch of ſnuff.

"In company with men, I always endeavoured to out-ſhine, or, at leaſt, if poſſible, to equal the moſt ſhining man in it. This deſire elicited whatever powers I had to gratify it; and where I could not perhaps ſhine in the firſt, enabled me, at leaſt, to ſhine in a ſecond or third ſphere. By theſe means I ſoon grew in faſhion; and when a man is once in faſhion, all he does is right.

"It was infinite pleaſure to me, to find my own faſhion and popularity. I was ſent for to all parties of pleaſure, both of men and women; where, in ſome meaſure, I gave the *ton*. This gave me the reputation of having had ſome women of condition; and that reputation, whether true or falſe, really got me others. With the men I was a Proteus, and aſſumed every ſhape, in order to pleaſe them all: — with the gay, I was the gayeſt, among the grave, the graveſt; and I never omitted the leaſt attentions of good breeding, or the leaſt offices of friendſhip, that could either pleaſe, or attach them to me;—and, accordingly, I was ſoon connected with all the men of any faſhion or figure in town."

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

His Lordſhip's Riſe in Parliament. He is made one of the Loras of the Bed-chamber—Succeeds to the Peerage—Is made Captain of the Yeomen of the Guards—Is ſworn of the Privy Council—Is ſent Ambaſſador to the Hague—Is choſen a Knight of the Garter—Is appointed Lord Steward of the Houſhold—And reſigns.

THUS accompliſhed, as a gentleman and a ſcholar, his lordſhip's next ambition was, to figure as a ſtateſman and an orator; and he ſucceeded in both. The ſame attention to pleaſing, which diſtinguiſhed him in the polite world, made him eminent in the political. A deſire of ſhining made him ſhine.

He was elected a member for the borough of St. Germain, in the firſt parliament of George I. and he tells us himſelf, that he ſpoke in parliament the firſt month he was in it, and a month before he was of age. The ſpeech, he obſerves, was but indifferent, as to the *matter*, but paſſed tolerably, in favour of the *ſpirit* with which he *uttered* it, and the *words* in which it was *dreſſed*.

There his lordſhip's fort lay: language and addreſs were always at his command; and experience proves that he was not wrong in laying ſo much ſtreſs on them. His ſentiments never changed on this ſubject.

"Think," ſays he to his ſon, "night and day, of the turn, the purity, the correctneſs, the perſpicuity, and the elegancy, of whatever you ſpeak or write: take my word for it, your labour will not be in vain, but greatly rewarded by the harveſt of praiſe and ſucceſs which it will bring you. Delicacy of turn, and elegancy of ſtyle, are ornaments as neceſſary to common ſenſe, as attentions, addreſs, and faſhionable manners, are to common civility; both may ſubſiſt without them, but then, without being of the leaſt uſe to the owner. The figure of a man is exactly

the ſame, in dirty rags, or in the fineſt and beſt-choſen clothes; but in which of the two he is the moſt likely to pleaſe, and to be received in good company, I leave to you to determine.

"The Houſe of Commons," adds he, is the theatre where you muſt make your fortune and figure in the world, you muſt reſolve to be an actor, and not a *perſona muta*, which is juſt equivalent to a candle-ſnuffer upon other theatres. Whoever does not ſhine there, is obſcure, inſignificant, and contemptible; and you cannot conceive how eaſy it is, for a man of half your ſenſe and knowledge, to ſhine there if he pleaſes. The receipt to make a ſpeaker, and an applauded one too, is ſhort and eaſy. Take of common ſenſe *quantum ſufficit*, add a little application to the rules and orders of the houſe, throw obvious thoughts in a new light, and make up the whole with a large quantity of purity, correctneſs, and elegancy of ſtyle. Take it for granted, that by far the greateſt part of mankind do neither analyſe nor ſearch to the bottom; they are incapable of penetrating deeper than the ſurface. All have ſenſes to be gratified, very few have reaſon to be applied to. Graceful utterance and action pleaſes their eyes, elegant diction tickles their ears; but ſtrong reaſon would be thrown away upon them.

"I am not only perſuaded by theory, but convinced by my experience, that (ſuppoſing a certain degree of common ſenſe) what is called a good ſpeaker, is as much a mechanic, as a good ſhoemaker; and that the two trades are equally to be learned by the ſame degree of application. Therefore, for God's ſake, let this trade be the principal object of your thoughts; never loſe ſight of it. Attend minutely to your ſtyle, whatever language you ſpeak or write in; ſeek for the beſt words, and think of the beſt turns. Whenever you doubt of the propriety or elegance of any word, ſearch the dictionary, or ſome good author for it, or inquire of ſomebody, who is maſter of that lan-

language; and in a little time, propriety and elegance of diction will become ſo habitual to you, that they will coſt you no more trouble.

"As I have laid this down to be mechanical, and attainable by whoever will take the neceſſary pains, there will be no great vanity in my ſaying, that I ſaw the importance of the object ſo early, and attended to it ſo young, that it would now coſt me more trouble to ſpeak or write ungrammatically, vulgarly, and inelegantly, than ever it did to avoid doing ſo. The late Lord Bolingbroke, without the leaſt trouble, talked all day long, full as elegant as he wrote: Why? Not by a peculiar gift from heaven; but, as he has often told me himſelf, by an early and conſtant attention to his ſtyle. The preſent Solicitor-general, Murray, [now Lord Mansfield] has leſs law than many lawyers, but has more practice than any: merely upon account of his eloquence, of which he has a never-failing ſtream.

"I remember, ſo long ago as when I was at Cambridge, whenever I read pieces of eloquence (and indeed they were my chief ſtudy,) whether ancient or modern, I uſed to write down the ſhining paſſages, and then tranſlate them, as well and as elegant as ever I could; if Latin or French, into Engliſh; if Engliſh, into French. This, which I practiſed for ſome years, not only improved and formed my ſtyle, but imprinted in my mind and memory the beſt thoughts of the beſt authors. The trouble was little, but the advantage, I have experienced, was great. While you are abroad, you can neither have time nor opportunity to read pieces of Engliſh, or Parliamentary eloquence, as I hope you will carefully do when you return; but, in the mean time, whenever pieces of French eloquence come in your way, ſuch as the ſpeeches of perſons received into the Academy, *oraiſons funébres*, repreſentations of the ſeveral Parliaments to the King, *&c.* read them in that view, in that ſpirit; obſerve the harmony, the turn and elegancy,

elegancy, of the ſtyle; examine in what you think it might have been better; and conſider in what, had you written it yourſelf, you might have done worſe. Compare the different manners of expreſſing the ſame thoughts, in different authors; and obſerve how differently the ſame things appear in different dreſſes. Vulgar, coarſe, and ill-choſen words, will deform and degrade the beſt thoughts, as much as rags and dirt will the beſt figure.

"I reſolved within myſelf," continues he, "that I would at all events be a ſpeaker in Parliament, and a good one too, if I could. I conſequently never loſt ſight of that object, and never neglected any of the means that I thought led to it. I ſucceeded to a certain degree; and, I aſſure you, with great eaſe, and without ſuperior talents."

The obſervations that follow are worthy of Rochefoucault.

"Young people are very apt to over-rate both men and things, from not being enough acquainted with them. In proportion as you come to know them better, you will value them leſs. You will find that reaſon, which always ought to direct mankind, ſeldom does; but that paſſions and weakneſſes commonly uſurp its ſeat, and rule in its ſtead. You will find, that the ableſt have their weak ſides too, and are only comparatively able, with regard to the ſtill weaker herd: having fewer weakneſſes themſelves, they are able to avail themſelves of the innumerable ones of the generality of mankind: being more maſters of themſelves, they become more eaſily maſters of others. They addreſs themſelves to their weakneſſes, their ſenſes, their paſſions, never to their reaſon, and conſequently ſeldom fail of ſucceſs.

"To govern mankind, one muſt not over-rate them; and to pleaſe an audience, as a ſpeaker, one muſt not overvalue it.

"When I firſt came into the Houſe of Commons, reſpected that Aſſembly as a venerable one; and felt

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a certain awe upon me: but, upon better acquaintance, that awe ſoon vaniſhed; and I diſcovered, that, of the five hundred and ſixty, not above thirty could underſtand reaſon, and that all the reſt were *peuple*: that thoſe thirty only required plain common ſenſe, dreſſed up in good language; and that all the others only required flowing and harmonious periods, whether they conveyed any meaning or not; having ears to hear, but not ſenſe enough to judge." His lordſhip has not ſurely here over-rated the Houſe of Commons.

"Theſe conſiderations," obſerves he, "made me ſpeak with little concern the firſt time, with leſs the ſecond, and with none at all the third. I gave myſelf no farther trouble about any thing, except my *elocution* and my *ſtyle*; preſuming, without much vanity, that I had common ſenſe ſufficient not to talk nonſenſe."

He was elected a member for Leſwithiel, in the parliament ſummoned in the year 1721; which borough he continued to repreſent till he ſucceeded to the peerage, in January 1726. Before this time he was captain of the yeomen of the guards, and one of the lords of the bedchamber to his late majeſty George II. then prince of Wales; and, when that prince aſcended the throne, in the year 1727, he was not only continued in his employments, but admitted into the privy council.

Soon after the acceſſion of George II. (ſome changes having taken place in the miniſtry) the earl of Cheſterfield was appointed ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the States General; and on the 23d day of April, in the year 1728, he ſet out for the Hague, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the ability and integrity of his conduct; by the elegance and politeneſs of his addreſs; by the gaiety and ſprightlineſs of his converſation; and by living with a ſtate and magnificence that did honour to his country.

His Lordſhip continued at the Hague the beginning of the year 1730; when, returning to England, he

he was choſen a knight of the garter, at a chapter of that moſt noble order held at St. James's, on the 18th of May, in the ſame year; and on the 18th of June following, he was inſtalled at Windſor, along with the late duke of Cumberland and the earl of Burlington; the Sovereign and his royal highneſs the prince of Wales honouring the ſolemnity with their preſence. He was appointed Lord high Steward of his majeſty's houſhold the day after; and, in a ſhort time, he returned on his embaſſy to the Hague.

But public meaſures were now conducted ſo iniquitouſly at home, and ſo little encouragement was given to act with ſpirit abroad, that his lordſhip was aſhamed of being employed by ſuch a Miniſtry: he therefore returned to England in the year 1732; and, ſeeing no appearance of things growing better, he reſigned his place of Lord Steward of the Houſhold, in April 1733, and renounced all connections with the court.

CHAP. III.

His Lordſhip's patriotic Conduct after his Reſignation, and his moſt remarkable Speeches from the Year 1733, *to the Year* 1745.

THE earl of Cheſterfield's political character, and in a great meaſure his capacity, only now began to be known. He had hitherto ſupported the meaſures of the court, without perhaps ſufficiently conſidering how far they were equitable; but henceforth he acted the part of an intelligent, upright, and independent citizen of a free kingdom: ſwayed only by the dictates of his head, and the impulſe of his heart; he was always ready to eſpouſe good meaſures, and oppoſe bad ones, or what to him appeared ſuch, unſeduced by party, and unawed by power.

In ſupport of this character, it will be proper to take a view of his lordſhip's political conduct, which happily

happily forms his moſt eloquent panegyric. Immediately after his reſignation, he diſplayed himſelf, as an orator and a patriot, in a ſpirited ſpeech againſt miſapplying the produce of the ſinking fund; and, as he ſaw the influence of the crown increaſing, he formally aſſociated himſelf with the oppoſition, making every poſſible attempt to ſtem the tide of corruption, and preſerve the liberties of the ſubject.

In February 1734, the duke of Marlborough preſented a bill to the Houſe of Lords, "for the better ſecuring the conſtitution, by preventing the officers of the army from being deprived of their commiſſions otherwiſe than by the Judgment of a court martial, or by addreſs of either Houſe of Parliament."

This bill was occaſioned by ſeveral officers of character having been deprived of their commiſſions, without any better reaſon being aſſigned for ſo doing, than the will of the prince, or of his minion. After it had been read once, and a motion had been made for a ſecond reading, no lord ſtood up to ſpeak either for or againſt the bill; but ſome called for the queſtion: and, when the queſtion was juſt going to be put, the earl of Cheſterfield roſe, and ſaid, "My Lords, as there ſeems to be ſome of your Lordſhips againſt the ſecond reading of this bill, I am ſurpriſed to hear the queſtion ſo much inſiſted on, before any lord who is againſt a ſecond reading has given a ſingle reaſon for his being ſo.

"If any motion is made, or bill preſented to this Houſe, were it an affair of no conſequence, yet it is a reſpect due to the noble lord who makes the motion, or preſents the bill, not to put a negative upon it without ſome reaſon for ſo doing; but in the preſent caſe, it cannot be pretended that the bill preſented is not an affair of conſequence: It is in my opinion, not only a good, but a neceſſary bill; and the noble duke has given ſo ſtrong reaſons for paſſing it, that I hope your lordſhips will not ſo much as endeavour

deavour to put a negative upon it, without firſt giving ſome ſort of reaſon for what you are about to do."

Lord Hervey now roſe up and ſpoke againſt the bill. He was ſeconded by the duke of Newcaſtle, and a warm debate enſued. The earl of Cheſterfield ſpoke thus:

"It has been ſaid that this bill is a direct attack upon the prerogative, and that it is deſigned for deſtroying, or at leaſt diminiſhing, the power of the crown; but, my lords, if what is propoſed in this bill be duly conſidered, it will appear to be neither an attack upon the prerogative, nor ſo much as a diminution of the power of the crown. There is no power to be taken from the crown, but that power which the crown ought never to make uſe of. It is certain that the crown ought never to take an officer's commiſſion from him, but for ſome very ſufficient reaſon, and upon full proof of the facts alledged againſt him: and therefore all that is propoſed by this bill, is only a method by which the crown may get ſuch an information, as to the facts alledged, as may be depended on; by which the crown may be ſecured againſt impoſitions, and the officers againſt private miſrepreſentations and falſe accuſations. It is meant, my lords, to prevent the king's being led into the doing a piece of the higheſt injuſtice to a faithful ſoldier, and to prevent a good and brave officer from being whiſpered out of his commiſſion, and reduced to a ſtarving condition for no crime; perhaps for a piece of behaviour for which he ought to be highly rewarded. Can this, my lords, be called an invaſion of the rights of the crown? Is it not plainly grounded upon that fundamental maxim of our conſtitution, which ſays, That a King of England ſhall have it in his power to do as much good as he pleaſes, but ſhall not have it in his power to do wrong?

"The objection to general officers is likewiſe, my lords, founded upon a miſtake; for, if the noble lords had

had attended to the firſt reading of the bill, they muſt have known, that with reſpect to general officers, the power of the crown is to remain as before. The regulation propoſed is to extend no higher than colonels of regiments; and ſurely the continuing of the moſt deſigning, and the moſt daring men, in the command of a regiment for two or three months, after a diſcovery of his wicked deſigns, could be of no dangerous conſequence; even though the continuing him for that time were by this bill to be made neceſſary. But that is not the caſe; which leads me to conſider another miſtake, from which an argument hath been drawn, and much inſiſted on by ſome of the noble lords who ſpoke againſt the bill.

"The Pretender, my lords, I find is to be lugged into this queſtion, as he has been into ſome others, in which he had very little to do; and the danger the nation lies expoſed to from him, is made an argument for our not taking that care of our liberties and conſtitution which we ought. But the lords who make uſe of this argument ſeem not to take notice, that the king is ſtill to retain the power of ſuſpending and putting under an arreſt any officer, or number of officers, he pleaſes, and at whatever time or times he ſhall think proper; if the leaſt diſcovery therefore ſhould be made, that any officer or officers were drawn into a plot in favour of the Pretender, or any other plot againſt his majeſty's perſon or government, could not his majeſty immediately ſuſpend all ſuch officers from their commands? Could not he immediately lay them all under arreſt? nay, could not he immediately throw them all into a common priſon, or at leaſt into the hands of a meſſenger, and detain them there, till it ſhould be found convenient to bring them to trial before a court-martial, or otherwiſe; or, at leaſt, till the parliament ſhould be called, in order to have an addreſs from this or the other houſe for breaking ſuch of them, againſt whom a legal proof could not be obtained?--Is it to be doubted that either this houſe or

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the other, or indeed both, would refuſe to addreſs his majeſty upon ſuch an occaſion? —— And would not this as effectually diſappoint all their plots and contrivances, as if his majeſty had immediately broke every one of thoſe officers who were at firſt preſented to him as concerned in that plot?

"This bill, it has likewiſe been ſaid, would deſtroy the influence his majeſty ought always to have in the army, and annihilate the dependance the officers ought always to have upon the crown; but that, my lords, ſeems another miſtake, or at leaſt an overſight: for, notwithſtanding any proviſion in the bill, the power of naming and preferring the officers is to remain abſolute in the crown; and beſides, there will be many other ways left, by which the crown may ſecure the reſpect and dependence of all the officers in the army. So that there is nothing in this bill, that can poſſibly diminiſh that juſt and due influence which the crown ought to have in the army. The hopes of preferment alone are ſufficient for influencing every officer to do his duty, and to ſhew that reſpect which is owed, both to the crown and to his ſuperior officers. They may not indeed be ſufficient for influencing an officer to act contrary to his duty, both as to his king and country, by obeying the private commands of a wicked miniſter: but this, my lords, and this only, is what is by this bill propoſed to be guarded againſt. All intended is, That no miniſter of ſtate ſhall hereafter have it in his power to tell an officer of the army, in a caſe that perhaps no way regards military diſcipline, "Sir! you ſhall do ſo and ſo,—or ſtarve!"

"In ſhort, my lords, the regulation intended by the bill is what has been thought neceſſary in all free countries; in this I think it abſolutely neceſſary for the preſervation of our conſtitution: I can ſee no objection that can be made to it; and therefore I ſhall ſtill be for a ſecond reading."

But

But all his Lordship's eloquence was in vain: the question was carried in the negative.

The earl of Chesterfield's next remarkable speech was on his majesty's message to the House of Lords, (March 28th of the same year, 1734,) for "a power to augment his forces, if necessary, during the want of a parliament." After enlarging on the situation of foreign powers, his lordship proceeds thus:

"The dictatorial power was, my lords, a part of the Roman constitution, even from the very beginning of their republic: but, while they preserved their virtue, while they preserved their liberty, this power was never granted but upon the most important, the most urgent occasions; and was never granted for a longer term than six months.—When the virtue and public spirit of that once brave people began to decay, this power indeed was often granted upon trifling occasions. It then began to be granted for a long term, and was soon after granted for life. With this last grant, they gave away the liberties of their country for ever: the dictator might die, but the power was handed down immediately to another; the tyranny became perpetual. The power now asked for is, in some measure, a dictatorial power: it has but of late years crept into our constitution; it was never yet granted but on the most urgent occasions; but if once we begin to grant it for a time indefinite, and on such suppositions as *may-bes*, I can easily foresee what it will be—It will at last, nay it will soon, be either granted or taken for life; and then, adieu for ever to the liberties of Great Britain!

"I will allow, that, by our constitution, our kings have always had, during the interval of parliament, a sort of dictatorial power; a power to take care that the common-wealth may be no ways injured: and therefore, in case of any sudden and unexpected danger, the king may raise forces, or may fit out a fleet, for preventing that danger; and, where the danger

danger is real, it is certain the king never did, nor ever will want money, as long as there is any in the nation. For, upon ſuch an occaſion, no man will refuſe to lend his money to the government; and the parliament will certainly approve of what has been done, and provide for the repayment of what has been borrowed, provided it be made appear to them that there was a neceſſity for putting the nation to that expence. But the aſking for ſuch a power before-hand, looks as if ſomething were intended that could not well be approved of:—it looks as if the nation were to be put to an additional expence without any apparent reaſon for ſo doing; and as if this anticipated credit were aſked from parliament in order to encourage people to lend their money to the public, though they ſee no neceſſity for ſuch public expence. No man will refuſe to let an infant of a good eſtate have whatever money may be neceſſary for his ſubſiſtence: for this he has little occaſion for any letter of credit from his guardians; but if his guardians ſhould be ſuch fools, or rather ſuch unfaithful guardians, as to give him an unlimited letter of credit, for borrowing whatever he himſelf might think neceſſary for his ſubſiſtence, it would certainly tend to throw him into extravagance, and might make him a prey for uſurers and extortioners.

"I am very well convinced, my lords, that the ſafety of the people will not be any way better ſecured by the reſolution now propoſed; but I am very far from thinking, that the power of the crown will be no way enlarged. If it were really thought ſo, I am ſenſible no miniſter would ever give himſelf the trouble of perſuading the king to ſend ſuch a meſſage to parliament. But ſuppoſe I were convinced, that no additional power is by this propoſition to be granted to the king, that very conſideration would with me be a moſt prevailing argument for being againſt it; for, it muſt be allowed, that what is now propoſed

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is ſomething very extraordinary, and contrary to all thoſe forms and methods of proceeding in parliament, which long experience has taught us to be neceſſary for the preſervation of our liberties. Why then ſhould we make ſo great an encroachment upon our conſtitution, if neither the ſafety of the people, nor the ſecurity of the crown, be thereby any way improved? This reaſon, I ſay, my lords, if there were none other, would prevail with me to be againſt agreeing to the propoſition now before us: but as I think it of the moſt dangerous conſequence to the liberties of the people; as I think that a power is thereby granted to the crown, which ought never to be granted but in caſes of the utmoſt, the moſt imminent danger, I ſhall therefore moſt heartily give my negative to it."

In the year 1737, when an indirect attempt was made upon the liberty of the preſs, by "a bill to limit the number of play-houſes; and to ſubject all dramatic writers to the juriſdiction of the lord chamberlain, by obliging them to take out a licence for every production before it can appear on the ſtage," Lord Cheſterfield diſtinguiſhed himſelf by an excellent ſpeech, that will for ever endear his name to all the friends of genius, and all the lovers of liberty.

"Our ſtage," ſaid he, "ought certainly my lords, to be kept within due bounds; but for this purpoſe, our laws as they ſtand at preſent are ſufficient. If our ſtage-players at any time exceed thoſe bounds, they ought to be proſecuted; they may be puniſhed. We have precedents, we have examples of perſons being puniſhed for things leſs criminal, than ſome pieces lately repreſented: a new law muſt therefore be unneceſſary; and, in the preſent caſe, it cannot be unneceſſary without being dangerous: Every unneceſſary reſtraint is a fetter upon the legs, is a ſhackle upon the hands of liberty. But every good in this life has its allay of evil: licentiouſneſs is the allay of liberty. It is an ebullition, an excreſcence; it is a

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ſpeck upon the eye of the political body, which I dare never touch but with a gentle—with a trembling hand, leſt I injure the body; leſt I deſtroy the eye upon which it is apt to appear.

"If the ſtage becomes at any time licentious; if a play appears to be a libel upon the government, or upon any particular man, the king's courts are open; the law is ſufficient to puniſh the offender:—and, in this caſe, the perſon injured has a ſingular advantage. He can be under no difficulty to prove who is the publiſher: the players themſelves are the publiſhers; and there can be no want of evidence to convict them.

"But, my lords, ſuppoſe it true, that the laws now in being are not ſufficient for putting a check to, or preventing the licentiouſneſs of the ſtage; ſuppoſe it abſolutely neceſſary ſome new law ſhould be made for that purpoſe: yet it muſt be granted that ſuch a law ought to be maturely conſidered, and every clauſe, every ſentence, nay every word of it well weighed and examined; leſt, under ſome of thoſe methods preſumed, or pretended to be neceſſary for reſtraining licentiouſneſs, a power ſhould lie concealed, which might afterwards be made uſe of to give a dangerous wound to liberty. Such a bill ought not therefore to be introduced at the cloſe of a ſeſſion; nor ought we in the paſſing of ſuch a law, to depart from any of the forms preſcribed by our anceſtors for preventing deceit and ſurpriſe. There is ſuch a connection between licentiouſneſs and liberty, that it is not eaſy to correct the one without dangerouſly wounding the other. It is extremely hard to diſtinguiſh the true limit between them. In a changeable ſilk we can eaſily ſee there are two different colours; but we cannot eaſily diſcover where the one ends, and the other begins: they blend inſenſibly.

"While we complain of the licentiouſneſs of the ſtage, and of the inſufficiency of our laws, I fear we have more reaſon, my lords, to complain of bad meaſures in our policy, and a general decay of virtue and morality

morality among the people. In public, as well as private life, the only way to prevent being ridiculed, is to avoid all ridiculous or wicked meaſures, and to purſue ſuch only as are virtuous and worthy. The people never endeavour to ridicule thoſe they eſteem, nor will they ſuffer them to be ridiculed. If ſuch an attempt is made, the ridicule returns upon the author: he makes himſelf only the object of public hatred and contempt. If any man thinks he has been cenſured, if any man thinks he has been ridiculed, upon any of our public theatres, let him examine his actions, and he will ſee the cauſe; let him alter his conduct, and he will find a remedy.

"The actions, or behaviour of a private man, may paſs unobſerved; and, conſequently, unapplauded, uncenſured: but the actions of thoſe in high ſtations, can neither paſs without notice, nor without cenſure or applauſe; and therefore an adminiſtration without eſteem, and without authority among the people, let their power be ever ſo great, let their power be ever ſo arbitrary, will be ridiculed. The ſevereſt edicts, the moſt terrible puniſhments, cannot entirely prevent it. It is not licentiouſneſs; it is an uſeful liberty always indulged the ſtage in a free country, that ſome great men may there meet with a juſt reproof, which none of their friends will be free enough, or rather faithful enough, to give them. — Of this we have a famous inſtance in the Roman hiſtory.

The great Pompey, after the many victories he had obtained, and the great conqueſts he had made, had certainly a good title to the eſteem of the people of Rome: yet that great man, by ſome error in his conduct, became an object of general diſlike; and, therefore, in the repreſentation of an old play, when Diphilus the actor came to repeat theſe words, *Noſtra Miſeria tu es* MAGNUS, the audience immediately applied them to Pompey, who was at that time

time as well known by the name of *Magnus*, as by that of Pompey, and were ſo highly pleaſed with the ſatire, that, as Cicero tells us, they made the actor repeat the words an *hundred* times. An account of the matter was immediately ſent to Pompey; who, inſtead of reſenting it as an injury, was ſo wiſe as to take it for a juſt reproof: he examined his conduct; he altered his meaſures; he regained by degrees the eſteem of the people; — and then he neither feared the wit, nor felt the ſatire of the ſtage.

" This is an example which ought to be followed by great men in all countries. Such accidents will often happen in every free country; and many ſuch would probably have afterwards happened at Rome, if the Romans had continued to enjoy their liberties: but this ſort of liberty in the ſtage came ſoon after, I ſuppoſe, to be called *licentiouſneſs*; for we are told that Auguſtus, after having eſtabliſhed his empire, reſtored order in Rome, by " reſtraining licentiouſneſs." God forbid we ſhould ever in this country have order reſtored, or licentiouſneſs reſtrained, at ſo dear a rate as the Romans paid for it to Auguſtus!

In the caſe I have mentioned, my lords, it was neither the poet nor the player, it was the people that pointed the ſatire; — and the caſe will always be the ſame. When a man has the misfortune to incur the hatred or contempt of the people; when public meaſures are deſpiſed, the audience will apply what never was, what could not be deſigned, as a ſatire on the preſent times. Nay, even though the people ſhould not apply, thoſe who are conſcious of guilt — thoſe who are conſcious of the wickedneſs of their own conduct, will take to themſelves what the author never deſigned. We have an inſtance of this in the caſe of a famous comedian of the laſt age; a comedian, who was not only a good

good poet, but an honest man, and a quiet good subject.

" When the celebrated Moliere wrote his Tartuffe, which is certainly an excellent moral comedy, he did not design to satirize any particular man: yet a great man in France at that time took it to himself, and fancied the author had taken him as a model for one of the principal, and one of the worst characters in the play. Happily he was not the licenser, otherwise France had never had the pleasure — the felicity, I may say, of seeing that comedy acted. But though he was not, when the players first proposed to act it at Paris, he had interest enough to get it forbid. Moliere, who knew himself innocent of what was laid to his charge, complained to his patron the prince of Conti, that as his play was designed only to expose hypocrisy, or a false pretence to religion, it was very hard it should be prohibited; particularly, when they were suffered to expose religion itself publickly every night upon the Italian stage. To which the prince wittily replied, 'It is true, Moliere, Harlequin ridicules heaven, and exposes religion; but you have done much worse; you have ridiculed the first *minister* of religion.'

" I am as much for restraining the licentiousness of the stage, and every other sort of licentiousness, as any of your lordships can be; but I have many reasons for being against passing of this bill, some of which I shall beg leave to explain. The bill, my lords, may at first view seem designed only against the stage; but, to me, it plainly appears to point somewhere else. It is an arrow, that does but glance upon the stage: the mortal wound seems designed against the liberty of the press. By this bill you prevent a play's being acted, but you do not prevent its being printed; if a licence, therefore, should be refused for its being acted, we may depend upon it,

the play will be printed and publiſhed, my Lords, with the refuſal in capital letters on the title-page. People are always fond of what is forbidden: this will infallibly procure a good ſale. Thus will ſatires be ſpread and diſperſed through the whole nation; and thus every man in the kingdom may read for ſix-pence what a few only could have ſeen acted, and that not under double the expence. We ſhall then be told, 'What! will you allow an infamous libel to be printed and diſperſed, which you would not allow to be acted?—You have agreed to a law for preventing its being acted, can you refuſe your aſſent to a law for preventing its being printed and publiſhed?' And I ſhould be glad, my lords, to know what reaſon you could give for being againſt the latter, after having agreed to the former; for, I proteſt, I cannot figure to myſelf the leaſt ſhadow even of an excuſe.—Thus, my lords, from the precedent now before us, we ſhall be led — nay can find no reaſon for refuſing to lay the preſs under a general licence; and then we may bid adieu to the liberties of Great Britain.

"But granting it neceſſary, my lords, which I am far from thinking, to make a new law for reſtraining the licentiouſneſs of the ſtage; yet I ſhall never be for eſtabliſhing ſuch a power as is propoſed by this bill. If poets and players are to be reſtrained, let them be reſtrained as other ſubjects are, by the known laws of their country: if they offend, let them be tried, as every Engliſhman ought to be, by God and their country. Let us not ſubject them to the arbitrary will and pleaſure of any one man. A power lodged in the hands of a ſingle man, to judge and determine without limitation, controul, or appeal, is a ſort of power unknown to our laws, and inconſiſtent with our conſtitution: it is a higher and more abſolute power than we truſt even to the king himſelf; I muſt therefore think,

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we ought not to veſt any ſuch power in his majeſty's lord chamberlain.

" I ſhall admit, my lords, that the ſtage ought not, upon any occaſion, to meddle with politics: and for this very reaſon, among the reſt, I am againſt the bill now before us. This bill will be ſo far from preventing the ſtage's meddling with politics, that I fear it will be the occaſion of it's meddling with nothing elſe: but then it will be a political ſtage, *ex parte*. It will be made ſubſervient to the politics and ſchemes of the court only. The licentiouſneſs of the ſtage will be encouraged, inſtead of being reſtrained; but like court-journaliſts, it will be licentious only againſt the patrons of liberty, and the protectors of the people. Whatever man, whatever party, oppoſes the court in any of their moſt deſtructive ſchemes, will be repreſented on the ſtage in the moſt ridiculous light the hirelings of a court can contrive. True patriotiſm, and love of public good, will be repreſented as madneſs; or as a cloke for envy, diſappointment, and malice, whilſt the moſt flagitious crimes, the moſt extravagant vices and follies, if they are faſhionable at court, will be diſguiſed and dreſſed up in the habit of the moſt amiable virtues. This, at leaſt, we know was the caſe in the reign of Charles II. when the ſtage was under a licence.

" The proper buſineſs of the ſtage, my lords, and that for which only it is uſeful, is to expoſe thoſe vices and follies which the laws cannot lay hold of, and to recommend thoſe talents and virtues, which miniſters and courtiers ſeldom either imitate or reward; but by laying it under a licence, and under an arbitrary court-licence, you will, in my opinion, entirely pervert its uſe: for every ſort of vice and folly, in all countries, generally begins at court, and from thence ſpreads through the country. By laying the ſtage, therefore, under an arbitrary

court-licence, inſtead of leaving it what it is, and always ought to be, a gentle ſcourge for the vices of great men and courtiers, you will make it a canal for propagating and conveying their vices through the whole kingdom.

"From theſe conſiderations, my lords, I think it muſt appear, that the bill now before us cannot ſo properly be called a bill for reſtraining the licentiouſneſs, as a bill for reſtraining the liberty of the ſtage; and for reſtraining it too in that branch, which in all countries has been found the moſt uſeful: I muſt therefore look upon the bill, as a moſt dangerous encroachment on liberty in general. Nay more, my lords, it is not only an encroachment on liberty, it is likewiſe an encroachment on property. Wit, my lords, is a ſort of property:—it is the property of thoſe who have it; and too often, alas! the only property they have to depend on. We—thank God, my lords! have a dependence of another kind; we have a much leſs precarious ſupport, and therefore cannot feel the inconveniencies of the bill now before us: but it is our duty to encourage and protect wit, to whomſoever it may belong. Thoſe gentlemen who have ſuch property, are all, I hope, our friends: let us not therefore ſubject them to any unneceſſary or arbitrary reſtraint.

"I muſt own, my lords, I cannot eaſily agree to the laying of any tax upon wit; but by this bill it is to be heavily taxed—it is to be exciſed:—for, if the bill paſſes, it cannot be retailed in a proper way, without a permit;—and the lord chamberlain is to have the honour of being chief gauger, ſuperviſor, commiſſioner, judge, and jury. Theſe hardſhips, this hazard, to which every gentleman will be expoſed who writes for the ſtage, muſt certainly prevent every man of a generous and free ſpirit from attempting any thing in that way; and, as the ſtage has always been the proper channel for wit

wit and humour, therefore, my lords, when I ſpeak againſt this bill, I muſt think I plead the cauſe of wit; I plead the cauſe of humour; I plead the cauſe of genius, and of every gentleman of taſte in the kingdom."

The bill, however, paſſed by the influence of the miniſtry: but his lordſhip's ſpeech, which can never be ſufficiently admired on account of the liberal ſpirit that it breathes, and which may be conſidered as a model of ſenatorial eloquence, awakened a jealouſy for the liberty of the preſs, which has hitherto prevented any ſecond attempt upon it.

In the year 1738, Lord Cheſterfield diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a ſpirited harangue againſt "a ſtanding army;" and in the ſame year, he attacked Sir Robert Walpole's inglorious "convention with Spain," with all the weight of argument, and all the poignancy of ſatire. As the firſt is a general, and the laſt but a temporary ſubject, I ſhall only give his lordſhip's ſpeech for the reduction of the army.

"Neceſſity, my lords," ſaid he, "was pleaded for our firſt ſtanding army; and that neceſſity was to laſt but for a year: — that army was to be kept up but till our next ſeſſion of parliament. The friends of liberty and our conſtitution then indeed propheſied, that the neceſſity pretended would laſt for ever; and that a ſtanding army, if once introduced, would become perpetual, which the courtiers pretended to think impoſſible. Experience, however, has ſince ſhewed us the certainty of that pretended impoſſibility.

"A body of guards were the firſt regular troops kept up by the authority of parliament. The friends of liberty looked upon thoſe guards as the ſeeds of a ſtanding army, and propheſied that, like all pernicious weeds, they would increaſe vaſtly; that they would increaſe ſo as to choak our conſti-

tution. The firſt part of this prophecy has been fulfilled; God grant the other may not!

"A courtier would then have ſaid, it was impoſſible that a body of guards, not exceeding eight hundred men, ſhould increaſe to an army of eighteen thouſand — and yet we ſee it has come to paſs. Upon every occaſion the word *neceſſity* was urged for increaſing, as it had at firſt been for eſtabliſhing this body of regular troops: a few more troops were always ſaid to be neceſſary: a few more could ſubject us to no danger! — ſo that by a few more, and a few more, we at laſt arrived at the number we have on foot.

"To keep up a numerous army, mylords, for the ſake of guarding againſt dangers that can only be ſaid to be poſſible, is to expoſe ourſelves to thoſe that are probable. Nay, I may go farther; I may ſay, that the keeping of a numerous army in time of peace, is no proper ſafeguard againſt thoſe poſſible dangers it is kept up to prevent, and expoſes us to dangers that are certain. Slavery and arbitrary power are the certain conſequences of keeping up a ſtanding army; if it be kept up for any number of years. It is the machine by which the chains of ſlavery are rivetted upon a free people, and wants only a ſkilful and proper hand to ſet it a going. This it will certainly at laſt — perhaps too ſoon, meet with, if you do not break it in pieces, before the artiſt takes hold of it. It is the only machine by which the chains of ſlavery can be rivetted upon us. They may be ſecretly prepared by another — by corruption; which, like the dark and dirty channel through which it runs, may hiddenly and imperceptibly forge our chains,—but by corruption they can be forged only: it is by a numerous ſtanding army that they muſt be rivetted. Without ſuch an army, we ſhould break them aſunder, as ſoon as we perceived them, and ſhould chop off the polluted hands of thoſe that had prepared them.

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"It is no argument, my lords, to ſay, we have kept up an army for many years, without being ſenſible of any danger. The young fiery courſer is never brought at once to ſubmit to the curb, and patiently to take his rider upon his back. If you put the bit into his mouth, without any previous preparation, or put a weak unſkilful rider upon his back, he will probably break the neck of his rider: but by degrees you may make him tamely ſubmit to both. A free people muſt be treated in the ſame manner: by degrees they muſt be accuſtomed to be governed by an army; by degrees that army muſt be made ſtrong enough to hold them in ſubjection. We have already, for many years, been accuſtoming our people to be governed by an army, under pretence of making uſe of that army only to aſſiſt the civil power; and, by degrees, we have for ſeveral years been increaſing the number, and conſequently the ſtrength of our army.

"At the acceſſion of his late Majeſty, my lords, our army was but ſix thouſand: It ſoon amounted to twice that number; and, under various pretences, it has ſince been augmented. It has been increaſing almoſt every year:—and hence I conclude, that ſlavery, under the diſguiſe of an army, for protecting our liberties, is creeping in upon us by degrees. For, if no reduction is made this year, I ſhall expect, in a few years, to hear ſome miniſter, or favourite of a miniſter, terrifying us with imaginary plots and invaſions, and making the tour of Europe in ſearch of poſſible dangers, in order to ſhew us the neceſſity of keeping up a mercenary ſtanding army, three times as numerous as the preſent."

In the year 1739, the earl of Cheſterfield vented his keeneſt indignation againſt the Daniſh ſubſidy; and, in the year 1740, he boldly ſupported the duke of Argyle's motion, "that a general addreſs of thanks ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, inſtead of a recapitulation of every paragraph of the king's ſpeech, with

expreſſions of blind approbation, implying a general concurrence with all the meaſures of the miniſter."

"I know, my lords,"—ſaid he,—"it has been a cuſtom of late years, to make the addreſs of this houſe a ſort of echo to his majeſty's ſpeech from the throne; and, as echoes never fail to repeat the laſt words of a ſentence, ſo it ſeems we muſt never fail echoing back the laſt paragraph of his majeſty's ſpeech. This, I ſay has been a cuſtom for ſome years paſt; but I cannot think, that a religious obſervance of this cuſtom is either conſiſtent with the character we ought to preſerve, or neceſſary for ſhewing our reſpect for our ſovereign.

"Can any one with juſtice ſay, my lords, that prejudices, heats, and animoſities, have of late been intermixed with our deliberations?—Can any one with juſtice ſay, that there has lately been any diviſion among the people of this nation? I am really aſtoniſhed how ſuch words could creep into his majeſty's ſpeech from the throne. The ſpeech, it is true, is generally ſaid to be the ſpeech of the Miniſter, but I wonder what miniſter dared to tell his majeſty, that there have been, or ever were, any heats or animoſities in our deliberations, or that there have lately been any diviſions amongſt his people. I believe there is no aſſembly in the world, where deliberations and debates are carried on with more decency and calmneſs: I believe the people of this nation were never leſs divided in their ſentiments, than they have been of late years.

"The people of England, my lords, were never perhaps ſo unanimous in any one thing, as they have for ſeveral years been in deſiring to have an opportunity of revenging themſelves againſt the Spaniards. The only diviſion, if it can be called ſo, that has of late appeared amongſt us, has been between a few of our miniſters, or one ſole miniſter, and his immediate dependants, on the one ſide, and the whole body of the people, on the other; and ſuch a diviſion can, in no ſenſe, be called a diviſion among the people: for

in this country, I think, the people and the adminiſtration are two terms that are generally made uſe of as oppoſite to each other; and there was never greater reaſon for making uſe of theſe two terms in this ſenſe, than there has been for ſeveral years paſt. Then, with regard to heats and animoſities, can any one ſay, that there has been lately any heat or animoſity amongſt the people?—that is, amongſt any one ſet, or party of them, againſt another. There have, indeed, been great heats and animoſities in the nation; but, in this too, the people have been all united. They have moſt juſtly ſhewn heats and animoſities againſt the Spaniards; and, as juſtly againſt thoſe who have ſo long prevented their doing themſelves juſtice. Our heats and animoſities then, like our diviſions, have been between the whole body of our people on one ſide, and our miniſters and enemies on the other. If any man, therefore, has of late years preſumed to ſay to his majeſty, that there were heats or animoſities in any of our deliberations, or that there are diviſions amongſt his people, it muſt be one of the groſſeſt miſrepreſentations that ever was whiſpered into the ear of any ſovereign: and ſhall we, by any expreſſion in our addreſs, countenance ſuch a miſrepreſentation; and enter, as it were, into a combination for putting an impoſition upon our prince, that muſt give him a bad opinion, not only of his people, but alſo of this aſſembly, of which we have the honour to be members?—Such a conduct, with regard to the people, would be moſt unjuſt; and with regard to ourſelves, it would be a kind of *felo de ſe.*"

In the year 1741, a time when patriotiſm was very rare, the earl of Cheſterfield, always ſteady to his principles, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a ſenſible and ſpirited ſpeech in favour of the bill, 'to prevent penſioners from ſitting in parliament.'

"The other houſe,"—ſaid he,—"muſt always be better judges of what paſſes, or may paſs within their own walls than we can pretend to be. It is evident

they ſuſpect, that corrupt practices have been, or may be made uſe of, for gaining an undue influence over ſome of their members; and they have calculated this bill for curing the evil, if it is felt;—for preventing it, if it is only foreſeen. That any ſuch practices have actually been made uſe of, or are now made uſe of, is what I ſhall not pretend to affirm; but, I am ſure, I will not affirm the contrary. If any ſuch are made uſe of, I will with confidence vindicate his Majeſty: I am ſure he knows nothing of them; I am ſure he would diſdain to ſuffer them. But I cannot paſs ſuch a compliment upon his miniſters, nor upon any ſet of miniſters that ever was, or will be, in this nation; and therefore, I think, I cannot more faithfully, more effectually, ſerve his preſent majeſty, or his ſucceſſors, than by putting it out of the power of any miniſter to gain a corrupt influence over either houſe of Parliament. Such an attempt may be neceſſary for the ſecurity of the miniſter, but muſt always be inconſiſtent with the ſecurity of his maſter; and the more neceſſary it is for the miniſter's ſecurity, the more inconſiſtent it will always be with the king's, and the more dangerous to the liberties of the nation.

To pretend, my lords, that this bill diminiſhes, or any way encroaches upon the prerogative, is ſomething very ſtrange. What prerogative, my lords? Has not the crown a prerogative to bribe?—to infringe the laws, by ſending its penſioners into the other houſe? To ſay ſo, is deſtroying the credit, the authority of the crown, under pretence of ſupporting its prerogative. If his majeſty knew that any man received a penſion from him, or any thing like a penſion, and yet kept his ſeat in the other houſe, he would himſelf declare it, or withdraw his penſion, becauſe he knows it is againſt law. This bill, therefore, no way diminiſhes or encroaches upon the prerogatives of the crown, which can never be exerciſed but for the public good: It diminiſhes only the prerogatives uſurped by miniſters, which are never exerciſed but for its

deſtruction.

deſtruction. The crown may ſtill reward merit in the proper way; that is, openly. The bill is intended and can operate only againſt clandeſtine rewards, or gratuities, given by miniſters. Theſe are ſcandalous; and never were, or will be given, but for baſe ſervices.—"Thoſe who ſay, they depend ſo much upon the honour, integrity, and impartiality of men of family and fortune, ſeem to think our conſtitution can never be diſſolved, as long as we have the ſhadow of a parliament. My opinion, my lords, is ſo very different, that, if ever our conſtitution be diſſolved, if ever an abſolute monarchy be eſtabliſhed in this kingdom, which heaven avert! I am convinced it will be under that ſhadow. Our conſtitution conſiſts in the two Houſes of Parliament being a check upon the crown, as well as upon each other. If that check ſhould ever be removed; if the crown ſhould by corrupt means, by places, penſions, and bribes, get the abſolute direction of our two Houſes of Parliament, our conſtitution will from that moment be deſtroyed. There would be no occaſion for the crown to proceed any further: it would be ridiculous to lay aſide the forms of parliament; for, under that ſhadow our king would be more abſolute, and might govern more arbitrarily than he could do without it. A gentleman of family and fortune would not, perhaps for the ſake of a penſion, agree to lay aſide the forms of parliament; becauſe by his venal ſervice there he earns his infamous penſion; but he may, for the ſake of a penſion, whilſt he is in parliament, approve of the moſt blundering meaſures, conſent to the moſt exceſſive and uſeleſs grants, enact the moſt oppreſſive laws, paſs the moſt villainous accounts, acquit the moſt heinous criminals, and condemn the moſt innocent perſons, at the deſire of that miniſter who pays him his penſion. And, if a majority of each Houſe of Parliament conſiſts of ſuch men, would it not be ridiculous in us to talk of our conſtitution, or to ſay we had any liberty left?

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" If people would conſider the conſequences of corruption, there would be no occaſion for making laws againſt it; if they would reflect, that they not only ſell their country but themſelves; that they become the bond-ſlaves of the corruptor, who corrupts them not for their ſakes but for his own, they would reject the offer with diſdain. But this degree of reflection is not to be expected; the hiſtory of all nations evinces the weakneſs of human nature: it is therefore neceſſary, in every free ſtate, to contrive effectual laws againſt corruption; and as the laws we now have, for excluding penſioners from the other Houſe, are allowed to be ineffectual, we ought to make a trial at leaſt of the remedy now propoſed."

Immediately after the reſignation of Sir Robert Walpole, created earl of Orford, in the year 1742, a committee of the Houſe of Commons was appointed to inſpect into his conduct during the laſt ten years of his being firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury. Accordingly perſons, papers, and records, were ſent for: but Nicholas Paxton, Eſq; ſolicitor to the treaſury, refuſing to anſwer the queſtions aſked of him, the committee found it impoſſible to lay a clear ſtate of the affair before the Houſe, and reported the ſame. Upon this report the Houſe brought in a bill for indemnifying ſuch perſons as ſhould upon examination make diſcoveries touching the diſpoſition of public money, or other matters relating to the conduct of Robert earl of Orford.

The bill paſſed, and was ſent up to the Houſe of Lords, where a warm debate enſued. It was vigorouſly oppoſed by lord Carteret, lately at the head of the oppoſition in the Houſe of Lords, but who had now complied with the meaſures of the court, as had likewiſe Mr. Pulteney, the Cicero of the Houſe of Commons. The earl of Cheſterfield was ſtill the ſame, and ſpoke in favour of the bill with all the ardour of patriotiſm. " In

" In all ſocieties, my lords," ſaid he, " the government muſt, in the laſt reſort, be abſolute and arbitrary: in all governments, even the moſt ſlaviſh, there is a certain ſet of eſtabliſhed laws for trying and puniſhing crimes of an ordinary nature, by which little villains are obliged to ſubmit to the fate appointed by law; and in all governments, even the moſt free, there muſt be an extraordinary and arbitrary power for trying crimes of an extraordinary nature; to the end, that great and extraordinary villains may not be allowed to plunder the public with impunity. But the difference is, that in ſlaviſh governments this laſt reſort, this extraordinary and abſolute power, and the judging in what caſes it is to be made uſe of, is lodged in one or a few tyrants; whereas, in free governments, it is lodged in the whole body of the people. In our government, which is of a mixt kind, it is lodged in king, lords, and commons; and can never, or very rarely, be made a wrong uſe of, as long as the other Houſe delivers the ſentiments of the people, and not the ſentiments of the miniſter. Whilſt they do ſo, our government will be a free government, and none but the guilty will ever ſuffer by the uſe of this extraordinary and arbitrary power: but if the other Houſe ſhould ever, by corruption, be brought under a ſlaviſh dependance on the crown, they will then in no caſe deliver the ſentiments of the people, but the ſentiments of the miniſter; and, conſidering the extenſive power the crown has got (I do not know how) of ſending whom it pleaſes, and as many as it pleaſes into this Houſe, we may certainly ſuppoſe that this Houſe will be brought to do the ſame. Our ill fated government will then become an abſolute and a ſlaviſh government; becauſe this laſt reſort, this extraordinary and abſolute power, as well as the judging in what caſes it is to be made uſe of, will then

then be lodged ſolely in the king, or rather in his prime miniſter; and it will here, as in other ſlaviſh governments, be made uſe of, not for puniſhing the greateſt villains, but for deſtroying the beſt friends to their country.

"Can your lordſhips think, can any reaſonable man think, that a ſociety ought not to inflict a condign puniſhment upon an atrocious crime, becauſe they never before thought of making a law againſt it? Can you think, that a ſociety ought not to try and condemn an atrocious and notorious criminal, becauſe the crime is of ſuch a nature, or becauſe the criminal has been ſo cunning, that he cannot be tried and convicted by the uſual or regular methods that have by law or cuſtom been eſtabliſhed? — In all ſuch caſes the ſupreme and abſolute power of the ſociety is to take place; which, by our conſtitution, is to be exerciſed by way of impeachment, or by way of bill of attainder, or bill of pains and penalties: and in order to determine, whether it is to be exerciſed or no, or according to what method it is to be exerciſed, there muſt be a previous parliamentary inquiry; in the carrying on of which, we are reſtrained by no rules but thoſe of common ſenſe and common reaſon, and much leſs by thoſe rules that have been preſcribed for inquiring into, or trying offences at common law.

"The chief objection againſt this bill, my lords, ſeems to be its being directed againſt a particular man. The caſe of the earl of Macclesfield, however, already cited, is a proof that this is no real fault in the bill: but if it were, the fault is not in the other Houſe, who are for an enquiry, but in thoſe who ſeem afraid of an impartial inquiry into any part of the late conduct of our public affairs. There were two motions in the other Houſe for a general inquiry; but they were both rejected by thoſe who pretend to be the friends of the very perſon

person against whom this bill seems to be directed; by which means those who think some sort of inquiry necessary, were reduced to the necessity of making their motion particular, and for a limited time too.

" When this motion was made I shall not say,

Assensere omnes, et quæ sibi quisque timebat,
Unius in miseri exitium conversa tulere;

but it is certain that this motion was carried: and those who were of opinion that some dangerous practices had been carrying on, were certainly in the right to attack the chief criminal, by himself alone; since they had from experience some ground to believe, the herd was too numerous to be attacked in a body. If he is innocent, I am sure no other person can be guilty; and the opposition made to this bill, both in the other House and this, may be a full assurance, that he will be in no danger of suffering by any conspiracy, or false information.

" If he is innocent, my lords, the very bill now before us, provides against his being in danger of suffering by false information; and if he be guilty, the report upon which it is founded must convince us, that without such a bill we can expect no true information. When I consider this report, I am really amazed to hear it said, that we have not yet discovered the criminal. Is it not evident, that Paxton was an under agent of the treasury? — Is it not evident that Paxton has received most excessive sums of money without any account? Is it not evident, that he has received most illegal and unheard of favours from the first commissioner of the treasury? Is it not evident, that he has paid vast sums of money for corrupting and influencing elections? Do not the persons to whom he paid those sums declare, that they always believed it to be public money? — And is it not evident, from his own

own circumſtances, that he could not advance thoſe ſums out of his own eſtate? Do not all theſe circumſtances amount to a preſumption, almoſt equal to a proof, that Paxton has employed the public money in corrupting elections, and that in this dangerous and treaſonable practice he was employed by his patron, the firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury?

"We have already, my lords, diſcovered the crime; we have already diſcovered the criminal, almoſt as far as is poſſible without ſuch a bill as this. Upon former occaſions, and when unhappy men have been proſecuted in parliament by the crown, we have heard a proof that might convince, though it could not convict. We know who firſt made uſe of this diſtinction. If ſuch a diſtinction is ever to be admitted, ſurely it is in favour of a bill for enabling us to find a convicting proof, after we have found a proof that is almoſt convincing. This is the caſe at preſent. We have diſcovered the crime; we have, in part, diſcovered the principal criminal: we have almoſt a convincing proof as to both; and this bill is deſired, as the only method by which the perſon ſuſpected may be cleared of ſuſpicion, or convicted of guilt.

"With regard to Paxton, my lords, the other houſe has done nothing but what is uſual [they had committed him to Newgate] as well as legal: and as nothing is deſired by this bill, but what is conſiſtent with common ſenſe, as well as common law — nothing but what is conſtantly practiſed by the crown in all caſes whatſoever, I can ſee no reaſon for not paſſing it, but that of ſcreening the guilty. This I can never ſuſpect your lordſhips of; but I will not anſwer for what may be ſaid, as well as thought, by people without doors: for a moſt general ſuſpicion has ariſen, that the public money, and all the poſts and offices in the kingdom have

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of late been converted towards procuring a corrupt influence both at elections and in parliament.

" I ſhall readily admit, my lords, that no man ought to do or approve of what he thinks is wrong for the ſake of popularity; but as the people are very ſeldom in the wrong, or at leaſt do not often perſiſt long in a wrong opinion, and as popularity, and the eſteem of one's country, is certainly a very deſirable thing, a man ſhould examine thoroughly, and be very fully convinced, before he takes upon him to diſſent from a great majority of his countrymen. Whilſt I ſit in this aſſembly, therefore, I ſhall always adviſe my ſovereign to give great heed to any opinion that prevails generally among the people: I ſhall never adviſe him to purſue any meaſure that is contrary to the ſentiments of the majority of his ſubjects. If I were in any other of his majeſty's councils, I ſhould do the ſame. Even if I thought the people in the wrong, I ſhould be for giving way to their humour, as far as was conſiſtent with their ſafety. In a free country this is abſolutely neceſſary. A free people muſt be treated like a fine woman. If ſhe has now and then a little caprice, you muſt not flatly contradict her: you muſt give way, or at leaſt ſeem to give way to her humour; till, by good treatment, and a delicate oppoſition, you find an opportunity to give a turn to her temper. This is the only way by which you can clap the padlock upon her mind; and this, in my opinion, the only padlock in which there is any ſecurity. A free people muſt be treated in the ſame manner: for if you do not clap the padlock upon their mind, you muſt govern them by force, which puts an end to their freedom; and, in my opinion, to your ſecurity.

" For this reaſon, my lords, if there was no other argument in favour of the bill, I ſhould be for paſſing it into a law; becauſe it is generally approved of, and generally expected without doors; and

and as I can ſee no force in any of the arguments that have been made uſe of for ſhewing it to be inconſiſtent with, or of dangerous conſequence to our conſtitution, I ſhall moſt heartily give it my concurrence."

In the year 1743, the miniſtry being preſſed for money to fulfil their foreign engagements, a bill was framed for "repealing an act paſſed in the year 1736, by which very heavy duties (amounting to a prohibition) were laid upon gin and other home-made ſpirits, and for impoſing others at an *eaſier* rate." This bill paſſed the Houſe of Commons without much oppoſition; but, in the Houſe of Lords, it produced one of the moſt obſtinate diſputes ever known, and certainly with great juſtice; for, whatever need the government might be in of money, it ought not to have been raiſed by tolerating the infamous vice of drunkenneſs: more eſpecially, as the nation had been lately ſo ſenſible of the fatal effects of the pernicious liquid in queſtion upon the common people. Theſe effects cannot be better deſcribed than in the words of the biſhop of Oxford: "Permit me to remind your lordſhips," ſaid he, "of the horrible ſcenes that appeared publicly in our ſtreets, before paſſing the law which you are now to repeal. Almoſt in every ſtreet, we had two or three ginſhops, filled with ſuch company as no ſober man could view without horror; and yet this was not the worſt. There was an inviſible ſcene ſtill more terrible to think of: for they tell me, every one of theſe gin-ſhops had a back ſhop or cellar, ſtrewed every morning with freſh ſtraw, where thoſe that got drunk were thrown, men and women, promiſcuouſly together. Here they might commit what wickedneſs they pleaſed; and, by ſleeping out the doſe they had taken, make themthemſelves ready to take another, if they could find money for it. Theſe open ſcenes of wickedneſs we got

got rid of by the law you are now to repeal. But this law, it is said, did not put a stop to the consumption; though spirituous liquors were not publickly, they were privately retailed as much as ever. I am sorry for it, my lords: I am sorry the law was not better executed; but this shall never be an argument with me for allowing a public retail: I shall always be for confining vice as much as possible to holes and corners;—and it must be allowed that the temptation can never be so great, or so general, as when we have a public shop at every corner, where a poor passenger is often drawn in by some friend, perhaps some *female* friend, and by variety of company and example, as well as by the nature of the liquor, is enticed to drink too much.

"But the other day, as I am credibly informed, two children were murdered by giving them a spoonful of that pernicious liquor called *gin*; and many children are murdered in the womb, or upon the the breast, by the mother's drinking too plentifully of that poisonous liquid. Will you then, my lords, commit the care of dispensing this poison to every alehouse-keeper, to every man in the kingdom, who is willing to pay half a crown to the justices, and twenty shillings a year to the government for a licence?—Will you enable them to dispense this poison at so cheap a rate, that a poor thoughtless creature may get drunk for three-pence, and purchase immediate death for sixpence?"

Lord Carteret, Lord Bathurst, and the Earl of Bath, all recent patriots, were among the advocates for the bill: it was opposed by lord Hervey, now metamorphosed into a sturdy patriot, by the loss of the privy seal, and by several prelates, besides the bishop of Oxford. The Earl of Chesterfield attacked it with the united powers of reason, wit, and ridicule.

"I am surprised,"—said he,—"how any lord of this house can suppose the bill before us designed for suppressing, or putting a stop to the excessive drinking

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of ſpirituous liquors. In my opinion, the very title of the bill ought to be altered; it ought to be called, 'A bill for encouraging the conſumption of ſpirituous liquors, by enabling all the poor in the kingdom to get drunk as often as they pleaſe.'

"I ſhall grant, my lord,"—continued he,—"that gin is now clandeſtinely retailed at moſt alehouſes, and at many other houſes: but this is done privately, and to ſuch people as the landlord can truſt. It is not ſold openly in a public room, where variety of companies meet, and where the example of one company incites another to the uſe, perhaps the abuſe of this pernicious liquor; which will be the caſe, as ſoon as this bill begins to operate as a law. The reſtraint people have been under for ſome years, will make them more extravagant, when they find themſelves at full liberty. This bill will therefore, in my opinion, quite alter the old Engliſh ſort of drunkenneſs, which proceeded from hoſpitality and good fellowſhip. If they did, in former days, get drunk, it was with ſtrong beer, or ale, which is a ſort of ſoporific. While they were drinking they were merry; when they got drunk, they went to ſleep. But our modern liquor, called *gin*, has converted drunkenneſs into madneſs. It admits of no mirth, no converſation. The company grow mad, before they well know what they are about; and the more they drink, the more ripe they grow for any wickedneſs or extravagance.

"Luxury, my lords, is to be taxed, but vice prohibited, let the difficulties in executing the law be what they will. Would you lay a tax upon a breach of the ten commandments?—Would not ſuch a tax be wicked and ſcandalous, as it would imply an indulgence to all thoſe who could pay the tax?—Is not this a reproach moſt juſtly thrown by Proteſtants upon the church of Rome? Was it not the chief cauſe of the Reformation? And will you follow a precedent which brought reproach and ruin upon thoſe that introduced it? This is the very caſe now before us:

us: you are going to lay a tax, and conſequently to indulge a ſort of drunkenneſs, which almoſt neceſſarily produces a breach of every one of the ten commandments. Can you expect the reverend bench will approve of this?—I am convinced they will not; and therefore I wiſh I had ſeen it full upon this occaſion. I am ſure I have ſeen it fuller upon other occaſions, in which religion was not ſo much concerned.

"We have already, my lords, ſeveral ſorts of funds in this nation; ſo many, that a man muſt have a good deal of learning to be maſter of them. Thanks to his majeſty! we have now amongſt us the moſt learned man of the nation in this way: [the earl of Orford, formerly Sir Robert Walpole.] I wiſh he would riſe up and tell us, what name we are to give to this new fund. We have already the Civil Liſt fund, the Sinking fund, the Aggregate fund, the South Sea fund, and God knows how many others. What name we are to give to the new fund, I know not; unleſs we are to call it the Drinking fund. It may perhaps enable the people of a certain foreign territory [Hanover] to drink claret, but it will diſable the people of this kingdom from drinking any thing elſe but gin: for when a man has, by gin-drinking, rendered himſelf unfit for labour or buſineſs, he can purchaſe nothing elſe; and then the beſt thing he can do is, to drink on till he dies.

"But my Lords, to be ſerious upon this ſubject, for it is really an affair that deſerves your moſt ſerious conſideration; I wiſh your lordſhips would declare, what is truly your meaning by this bill: for I think it inconſiſtent with your dignity to declare what no man in England will believe you mean. I therefore wiſh you would declare openly and freely, that you hereby intend to promote the exceſſive drinking of gin, in order to increaſe his majeſty's revenue; for no reaſonable man will ſuppoſe you intend to diſcourage, much leſs prohibit this vice, by giving every man that pleaſes an indulgence, not only to practiſe

it

it himſelf, but to promote it in others, upon condition of his paying a ſmall tax yearly. For this reaſon, I think, you ought to prefix to the bill a preamble in theſe, or the like words :—' Whereas his majeſty has occaſion for a large ſum of money for maintaining his Hanoverian troops, and the Britiſh troops ſent, (for what purpoſe we know not) to Flanders; and whereas a very conſiderable new revenue may be raiſed by permitting the people of England to poiſon themſelves with a liquor called *gin*, which of late years the poor have grown extremely fond of, therefore be it enacted.'

" Such a preamble, I ſhall grant, my lords, would not be very conſiſtent with that regard which you profeſs, and ought to have for the people; but in my opinion, it would be more conſiſtent with your dignity than any other: for no man of any honour will profeſs one thing when he means the direct contrary; and a man, who has a regard to his character, will be cautious of profeſſing what no man in the world will believe he means.

" If our people muſt make uſe of ſpirituous liquors, I ſhall always be for encouraging them to make uſe of thoſe of a home rather than of a foreign manufacture: but I ſhall never be for raiſing the Britiſh diſtillery upon the deſtruction of the Britiſh people; and therefore I ſhall always be for laying ſuch reſtraints upon the uſe of ſpirituous liquors, even thoſe of our own manufacture, as may prevent, as much as poſſible, the people from deſtroying themſelves by the abuſe. The means of doing this are known; and, from experience, manifeſt. Brandy and rum are certainly as palateable as any ſort of home-made ſpirit; yet the abuſe, or exceſſive uſe of theſe liquors, never became general among the people;—and why? The reaſon, my lords, is plain: we have ſubjected them to ſuch high duties, as render it impoſſible for a poor man to commit frequent debauches in them; and, if willing, we might eaſily do the ſame with regard to all home-made ſpirits. A duty of three

or four ſhillings per gallon, upon the ſtill-head, would have the ſame effect as to them, that our high duties have with regard to rum and brandy; and the payment of this duty might be as eaſily, and as effectually enforced, as the payment of the other.

"But ſuch a duty as this, my lords, would certainly diminiſh the conſumption: nay, it would probably diminiſh the revenue ariſing from that conſumption; and therefore, I am afraid, it will never be thought of, much leſs propoſed, by miniſters who never value a duty but (as Hudibras ſays, every thing is to be valued) according to the "money it will bring." They may chime in with a popular cry for taxing ſome ſort of luxury, but, if they can, they will take care that the tax ſhall not be ſo high as to amount to an effectual prohibition; conſequently, it becomes a fund: and, when they have got ſuch a tax laid on, they endeavour to propagate the luxury, in order to increaſe the fund. This, I am convinced, will be the caſe of the bill now before us. The exceſſive drinking of gin is become a luxury, chiefly among the neceſſitous part of our people; and, as it is not only vicious in itſelf, but the father of all other vices, it ought to be prohibited, or at leaſt reſtrained, by ſuch a tax as would amount to a prohibition. Inſtead of this, you are to lay ſuch a ſmall tax, that it will not be felt by the conſumer, —and to make that a tax for bringing in a conſiderable revenue to the government. Can you expect, after this, that miniſters, or their under agents, will take any method for repreſſing the vice, or the luxury? —Will they not give ſecret orders to their tools, the juſtices, to connive at this ſort of wickedneſs?—And the retailers will certainly propagate it to the utmoſt of their power. Therefore, when this project was firſt formed, I muſt ſuppoſe, that half a dozen miniſters having aſſembled, and laid their wiſe heads together, they reſolved, that the people of this nation ſhould be drunk for one twelvemonth at leaſt; not only

only to raiſe a ſum of money for their dark purpoſes, but to prevent the people from being ſenſible of their miſery, or of the heavy burdens intended to be laid upon them and their poſterity."

When the queſtion was put for committing this bill, and the earl of Cheſterfield ſaw the biſhops join in this diviſion, "I am in doubt,"—ſaid he,—"whether I have not got on the other ſide of the queſtion; for I have not had the honour to divide with ſo many lawn-ſleeves for ſeveral years."

In the ſame year 1743, the earl of Cheſterfield diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a bold and ſpirited ſpeech againſt the contract, by which the Hanoverian troops had been taken into Britiſh pay, without the advice or conſent of parliament. He had indeed reaſon to talk with aſperity of that contract. Levy-money was charged to the account, though the troops were engaged for one year only; and though not a ſingle regiment had been raiſed on this occaſion: they had been levied for the ſecurity of the electorate; and would have been maintained, though Britain had never engaged in the affairs of the continent. The dependents of the court pleaded the cauſe of Hanover, and inſiſted upon the neceſſity of a land war againſt France, with all the vehemence of declamation.—Their ſuggeſtions were anſwered, and their conduct was ſeverely ſtigmatized by the earl of Cheſterfield.

The aſſembling of an army in Flanders, without the concurrence of the States General, or any other power engaged by treaty, or bound by intereſt, to ſupport the queen of Hungary, his lordſhip obſerved, was a raſh and ridiculous meaſure; that the taking of ſixteen thouſand Hanoverians into Britiſh pay, without conſulting the parliament, ſeemed highly derogatory to the rights and dignity of the great council of the nation, and a very dangerous precedent to future times; that thoſe troops could not be employed againſt the emperor, whom they had already recognized; that the arms and wealth of Great Britain alone

alone were sufficient to raise the house of Austria to its former strength, dominion, and influence; that the assembling of an army in Flanders would engage the nation as principals in an expensive and ruinous land-war, with a power which it ought not to provoke, and could not pretend to withstand in that manner; that while Great Britain exhausted itself almost to ruin, in pursuance of schemes founded on engagements to the queen of Hungary, the electorate of Hanover, though under the same engagements, and governed by the same prince, did not appear to contribute any thing as an ally to her assistance, but was paid by Great Britain for all the forces it had sent into the field, at a very exorbitant price; that nothing could be more absurd and iniquitous than to hire these mercenaries, while a numerous army lay inactive at home, and the nation groaned under a load of taxes.

"It may be proper,"—added he,—"to repeat, what may be forgotten in the multitude of other objects, That this nation, after having exalted the elector of Hanover from a state of obscurity to the throne, is condemned to hire the troops of that electorate to fight their own cause; to hire men at a rate never demanded before, and to pay levy-money for them, though it is known to all Europe that they were not raised for this occasion.—If we are now persuaded to take them into our pay for the support of our allies abroad, we may hereafter be persuaded to bring them over here for the support of our establishments at home. Necessity will be as strong an argument for that, as it has of late been for keeping up a numerous standing army of our own in time of peace:—for they are equally inconsistent with our constitution; and the disaffection of our army may hereafter be pleaded with as much strength, and perhaps with as much success, for keeping a numerous army of mercenary Hanoverians in the kingdom, as the disaffection

of the people has of late years been pleaded for keeping a numerous army of mercenary Engliſhmen.

"What we are now about, my lords, is the firſt ſtep; and, like a virgin deflowered, it is always more eaſy to get a free people to make the ſecond ſtep to ſlavery, than it is to get them to make the firſt. Nay I am told, my lords, that ſome of the new converts of the other Houſe (for new converts are always zealous) have even moved for a ſecond ſtep; that they have already declared for bringing the Hanoverian guards to England; and it is not impoſſible but it has been ſuggeſted, that a regiment of the Engliſh guards ought to be ſent to Hanover in their ſtead, that at both places his majeſty may appear both as king of Great Britain and elector of Hanover."

By the report of the ſecret committee, in the year 1744, it appeared, that the then miniſter had commenced proſecutions againſt the mayors of boroughs who oppoſed his influence in the electing of members of parliament. Theſe proſecutions were founded on ambiguities in charters, or trivial informalities in the choice of magiſtrates. An appeal on ſuch a proceſs was brought into the Houſe of Lords; and, this evil falling under conſideration, a bill was prepared for 'ſecuring the independency of corporations.'

As this bill tended to leſſen the influence of the miniſtry, they exerted all their rhetoric againſt it. The earl of Cheſterfield, always the advocate of the people, and the friend of freedom, ſpoke in favour of it with his uſual eloquence.

"This bill, my lords," ſaid he, "would prevent any corporation, or officer of a corporation, from being expoſed to ſuffer greatly by a neglect, or non-obſervance of ſome of the formalities, or ceremonies preſcribed by its charter; and, as very few of our corporations become liable to proſecutions upon any other account, it would be ſufficient for putting an end to that miniſterial influence over our cities and boroughs which we have ſo much reaſon at preſent to dread the conſequenc

consequence of, and which a late infamous report has made manifest to the whole nation. Corporations have not only been prosecuted, at the expence of the crown, for the neglect of insignificant formalities, but they have been prosecuted expressly for refusing to chuse such representatives as the minister directed.

"A noble lord was pleased to call our corporations the creatures of the crown. Too many of them, my lords, are so: I am for making them less so; and therefore am for having this bill passed into a law; for, whatever bad consequences it may be attended with, I am sure they cannot be so bad as the consequences of our neglecting, or delaying, to make any regulation for guarding against, or removing the danger to which we are at present exposed. Many of our boroughs are, indeed, so much the creatures of the crown, that they are generally called court boroughs; and they are very properly called so: for our ministers, for the time being, have always the nomination of their representatives, and make such an arbitrary use of it, that they often order them to chuse gentlemen they never saw, nor heard of perhaps, till they saw his name on the minister's order for chusing him as their representative. This order they always punctually obey; and would, I believe, obey it, were the person named in it the minister's footman, then actually wearing his livery: for they have, we know, chosen men who had but lately thrown the livery off their backs, but never could throw it off their minds."

In the year 1744, the commons of England, in order to evince their loyalty, brought in a bill denouncing the penalties of high-treason against those who should maintain correspondence with the sons of the pretender. When the bill was sent up to the House of Peers, Lord Hardwicke, the then chancellor moved, that a clause should be inserted, extending the crime of treason to the "posterity of the offenders, during the lives of the pretender's sons."

This motion, which was supported by the whole

ſtrength of the miniſtry, produced a warm debate; in which the duke of Bedford, the earl of Cheſterfield, the lords Talbot and Harvey, ſpoke againſt it in the moſt pathetic manner, as an illiberal expedient, contrary to the dictates of humanity, the law of nature, the rules of common juſtice, and the precepts of religion; an expedient that would involve the innocent with the guilty, and tend to the augmentation of miniſterial power, for which purpoſe it was undoubtedly calculated.

"There are two ſorts of men, my lords," ſaid the earl of Cheſterfield, "that may be guilty of treaſon: men of honour and conſcience; and men of no honour or conſcience, but ſuch as is governed entirely by their unruly and wicked paſſions. As to theſe laſt, can we ſuppoſe, that a man who allows himſelf to be ſo led away by his ambition or revenge, as to involve his native country in blood and confuſion, will be reſtrained by regard to his family, his wife, or his children?—Such men regard nothing but their domineering paſſion, and ſacrifice every thing to its ſatisfaction: therefore the continuance of theſe unjuſt puniſhments can have no effect upon them; and, as to the men of honour and conſcience, they are either mad enthuſiaſts, who are generally governed by ſome wrong principle, or reaſonable, conſiderate men, who are always governed by a right principle. Of the former ſort I reckon the few Jacobites that ſtill remain amongſt us. Now, my lords, it is well known, that the ſevereſt, the moſt cruel puniſhments, can have no effect upon enthuſiaſm: they propagate the madneſs inſtead of putting a ſtop to it; and therefore, by this clauſe, we may increaſe, but cannot prevent or diminiſh the danger we have to apprehend from Jacobitiſm.

"As to reaſonable, conſiderate men, my lords, it is certain they will never think of riſing in arms againſt an eſtabliſhed government, but when their duty to their country obliges them, and the nature of our conſtitution makes it lawful for them to do ſo. If any

future

future prince of our preſent royal family ſhould overturn our conſtitution, and ſet up to govern without any parliament, or by means of a packed, corrúpt parliament, and a mercenary ſtanding army, it would be the duty of every man in the kingdom to take arms againſt the miniſters that adviſed, and the venal tools that ſupported ſuch meaſures. By the nature of our conſtitution it would, *in foro conſcientiæ*, be lawful to do ſo; and yet, *in foro juridico*, it would be high treaſon to do ſo. If unſucceſsful, to the greater misfortune of their country, than of themſelves, they would, or at leaſt might, all be condemned or attainted as traitors. Againſt ſuch men, and for the ſupport of ſuch a government, I ſhall grant, that this clauſe would have a very conſiderable effect: for reaſonable, conſiderate men will always have a great regard for their families, their wives and their children; and, unleſs they have a very high degree of public ſpirit, and even ſomething of an enthuſiaſtic turn, the ruin and miſery which their families, their wives, and children, may be brought to, will be an effectual reſtraint on their actions, and prevent them from joining with thoſe who may attempt to reſcue their country from ſlavery and arbitrary power. But I leave it to your lordſhips to conſider, whether we ought to provide for any ſuch reſtraint, and what we ought to think of thoſe who adviſe us to do ſo.

"I am ſurpriſed to hear any lord ſay, that the child does not ſuffer, or that the child's right is not taken away by the forfeiture of his father. The poſſeſſor of a fee ſimple has, it is true, by law, a power to alienate his eſtate by deed, or to grant it away from his children by will. This muſt be allowed by the laws of ſociety for the ſake of commerce, for the ſake of enabling a man to improve his eſtate, and for the ſake of keeping children in due obedience to their father. But will any one ſay, that a man who ſquanders his eſtate does no injury to his children?—Will any one ſay, that a man who by his will grants away

his eſtate from his children, without leaving them a competency, and without any demerit in them, does no injury to his children?—My Lords, with regard to thoſe eſtates that are tranſmitted to us from our anceſtors, it is a manifeſt piece of injuſtice to our children to ſquander them, or grant them away to ſtrangers, unleſs our children have done ſomething to deſerve being diſinherited. Even as to an eſtate acquired by a man's induſtry, he ought not to ſquander it, or to grant it away from innocent children. A man is obliged to provide in the beſt manner he is able for his children: he is worſe than a ſavage that does not provide for his family; and if Providence has bleſſed a man's induſtry, ſo as to enable him to provide for his children, he muſt be ſtill worſe, if he afterwards ſquanders that proviſion, or grants it away to ſtrangers. The child has a natural right to what his father acquires: he has a family right, as well as a natural right, to the eſtate tranſmitted to his father by his anceſtors; and to take that right from him, on account of any crime committed by the father, is a flagrant piece of injuſtice, let it be done by whom it will, and upon what principle it will. To take the eſtate away from an innocent heir, is in many caſes cruel, as well as unjuſt. It is cruel to take the ſubſiſtence away from an innocent babe at the breaſt; and to turn both mother and child out of doors, may be the practice of tyrannical arbitrary governments, but ought never to be admitted in a humane government or free country.

"To pretend, my lords, that theſe forfeitures are neceſſary for preſerving the ſociety from rebellions and inſurrections, and the perſons of our kings and miniſters from conſpiracies and aſſaſſinations, is an argument, if we once exceed the bounds of juſtice and humanity, that can admit of no limitation. For the ſame reaſon it may be ſaid to be neceſſary, to put a traitor's children to death before his face: It may be ſaid to be neceſſary, to put all his friends and relations to death; and to find out the perſon moſt dear to him, perhaps

haps his wife, in order to have her put to death before his eyes. In short, the same argument may be made use of for the most exquisite tortures, and for all those cruel punishments that are now in use among the tyrannical governments in Asia and Africa.

"Thus your lordships must see, how far you may be led, if you once admit, that, for the peace of society and preservation of government, punishments may be inflicted that are both cruel and unjust. I therefore hope, my lords, you will spare a thought for your children, your families, and posterity. They have not only estates, but honours and dignities to lose. I hope the reverend bench, though their honours are not hereditary, will shew a concern for those that are. I hope the lords from Scotland will consider, how many noble families of their country have been lately destroyed by this maxim of punishing children for the father's crime. The guilty deserved to suffer; but it is hard to make the innocent partake in their punishment.

"I know, my lords, that in felonies the goods and chattels are forfeited, as well as the lands, goods and chattels in treason. I approve of the one as little as I do of the other: but felons have generally nothing to forfeit. By such a forfeiture it seldom happens once in a century, that the value of a thousand pounds becomes forfeited; and, in felony, there is no such danger of the prisoner being unjustly convicted, as in treason, where ministers generally interest themselves to have the prisoner condemned. Besides, my lords, as forfeitures for treason, become generally the prey of ministers and favourites, and are often of great value, they may be the cause of many an innocent man being convicted, condemned, and executed, for no other reason but because he has a fine estate; or, as it was once expressed, because he would be "a *bonny* traitor." Such expedients for raising money, we know, were frequent under the tyrannical emperors of Rome, who had a band of well-disciplined *delatores* for that very

purpoſe; and, in time, our informers may be as numerous, and as well diſciplined as thoſe *delatores*: for when a bad cuſtom has once taken root, no one can imagine how faſt it grows; how far it ſpreads its baneful branches.

"I muſt further obſerve, my lords, that theſe forfeitures are ſo far from preventing, that they may be the cauſe of a rebellion. If needy and daring counſellors ſhould get the government of a weak prince, they may adviſe him to arbitrary and oppreſſive meaſures, with a view to provoke a rebellion, that they may have a chance of enriching themſelves out of the ſpoils of the rebels. The king, indeed, by ſuch meaſures, might riſk, or loſe his crown; but, as ſuch miniſters have little to loſe, and a great deal to gain, they would give themſelves very little trouble about the riſk their ſovereign might run, if they thought they had but a tolerable chance of victory; and that an eſtabliſhed government can ſcarcely be without.

"The ſecurity of this government, my lords, and the tranquility of this nation, depends not upon frightening either the diſaffected or diſſatisfied from riſing in arms, by the ſeverity of puniſhment: it depends, my lords, and I hope will always depend, upon the ſmallneſs of their number. Upon this our tranquility will always depend, and ſecurely depend, as long as our liberties are preſerved entire; and, if they ſhould ever come to be encroached on, I am ſure it is neither the buſineſs nor the duty of Parliament, to endeavour to frighten men from taking arms in defence of the liberties of their country."

Theſe ſpeeches, I hope, will be deemed ſufficient to eſtabliſh the earl of Cheſterfield's reputation as a ſtateſman, an orator, and a patriot, while they ſerve as models of ſenatorial eloquence to our young nobility. I ſhall therefore return to his lordſhip's private character, and private life.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

His Lordſhip's Conduct in private Life, with the firſt Part of the Syſtem of Education delivered in a Series of Letters to his Son, with moral and critical Obſervations.

THE earl of Cheſterfield's attention to the intereſts of his country did not divert him from the duties of private life; nor even from it's pleaſures. In the year 1733, he married the lady Meloſinah de Schulenberg, counteſs of Walſingham, and natural daughter of King George I. who is ſtill alive. By his lady, however he had no children: but he had, about a year before his marriage, by madame du Bouchet, a French lady, a natural ſon, whom he cheriſhed with all the fondneſs of a father, and whoſe education was for many years the chief engagement of his life. After furniſhing him with the moſt valuable treaſures of ancient and modern learning, he was deſirous of adding to thoſe acquiſitions, that knowledge of men and things which he himſelf had acquired by long and great experience. With this view he wrote the Letters lately publiſhed, and which have been ſo deſervedly admired. They begin with thoſe dawnings of inſtruction adapted to the capacity of a boy, and riſing gradually by precepts and admonitions, calculated to direct and guard the age of incautious youth; finiſh with the advice and knowledge requiſite to form the man ambitious to ſhine as an accompliſhed courtier, an orator in the ſenate, or a miniſter at foreign courts. In ſhort, he meant to form, what he was himſelf, an all-accompliſhed man; and, as that is profeſſedly the deſign of this work, it cannot ſurely be done more effectually, than by accompanying the example with the precepts of ſuch a maſter.

I ſhall not begin with his lordſhip's earlieſt letters; but I ſhall begin as early as, I think, they can be of uſe to the readers of this book; and, if any ſhould think I begin too early, they will pleaſe to reflect, that others may think I begin too late.

Having given his ſon a conciſe account of the Heathen gods and goddeſſes, of the Trojan war, and the firſt Romans, the earl proceeds to what may be properly called *inſtruction*, in contradiſtinction to *information*. Here, therefore, I ſhall begin to form my MAN of the WORLD, leaving the article of information, as his lordſhip did, principally to others. Nor ſhall I ſervilely deliver his lordſhip's precepts, as if they were ſacred: I am ſenſible that no man is infallible: but I ſhall never differ from him without aſſigning a reaſon for ſo doing; and happily, our ſentiments are pretty much alike: So that the reader will not be troubled with much altercation.

"Hiſtory," ſays his lordſhip, "is an account of whatever has been done by any country in general, or by any number of people, or by any one man: thus, the Roman Hiſtory is an account of what the Romans did, as a nation: the Hiſtory of Cataline's Conſpiracy, is an account of what was done by a particular number of people; and the hiſtory of Alexander the Great, written by Quintus Curtius, is the account of the life and actions of one ſingle man. Hiſtory is, in ſhort, an account or relation of any thing that has been done.

"Hiſtory is divided into ſacred and profane, ancient and modern.

"Sacred hiſtory is the Bible, that is, the Old and New Teſtament. The Old Teſtament is the Hiſtory of the Jews, who were God's choſen people; and the New Teſtament is the Hiſtory of Jeſus Chriſt, the Son of God.

"Profane hiſtory is the account of the Heathen gods, ſuch as you read in Ovid's Metamorphoſes,

and

and which you will come to know a great deal more of, when you come to read Homer, Virgil, and the other ancient Poets.

" Ancient history is the Account of all the kingdoms and countries of the world, down to the end of the Roman empire.

" Modern history is the account of the kingdoms and countries of the world, since the destruction of the Roman empire.

" The perfect knowledge of history is extremely necessary; because, as it informs us of what was done by other people, in former ages, it instructs us what to do in the like cases. Besides, as it is the common subject of conversation, it is a shame to be ignorant of it."

How elegantly concise! — He proceeds thus:

" Geography must necessarily accompany history; for it would not be enough to know what things were done formerly, but we must know where they were done; and geography, you know, is the description of the earth, and shews us the situation of towns, countries, and rivers. For example; geography shews you that England is in the North of Europe, that London is the chief town of England, and that it is situated upon the river Thames, in the county of Middlesex: and the same of other towns and countries. Geography is likewise divided into ancient and modern; many countries and towns having, now, very different names from what they had formerly; and many towns which made a great figure in ancient times, being now utterly destroyed and not existing; as the two famous towns of Troy, in Asia, and Carthage, in Africa; of both which there are not now the least remains."

Having thus discussed history and geography, his lordship proceeds to chronology.

" History," continues he, " must be accompanied with chronology, as well as geography, or else

elſe one has but a very confuſed notion of it; for it is not ſufficient to know what things have been done, which hiſtory teaches us; and where they have been done, which we learn by geography; but one muſt know when they have been done, and that is the particular buſineſs of chronology. I will therefore give you a general notion of it.

"Chronology fixes the dates of facts; that is, it informs us when ſuch and ſuch things were done; reckoning from certain periods of time, which are called Æras, or Epochas: for example, in Europe, the two principal æras or epochas, by which we reckon, are, from the creation of the world to the birth of Chriſt, which was four thouſand years; and from the birth of Chriſt to this time, which is one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-nine years: ſo that, when one ſpeaks of a thing that was done before the birth of Chriſt, one ſays, it was done in ſuch a year of the world; as, for inſtance, Rome was founded in the three thouſand two hundred and twenty-fifth year of the world; which was about ſeven hundred and fifty years before the birth of Chriſt. And one ſays, that Charlemain was made firſt emperor of Germany in the year eight hundred; that is to ſay, eight hundred years after the birth of Chriſt. So that you ſee, the two great periods, æras, or epochas, from whence we date every thing, are the creation of the world, and the birth of Jeſus Chriſt.

"There is another term in chronology, called centuries, which is only uſed in reckoning after the birth of Chriſt. A century means one hundred years; conſequently, there have been ſeventeen centuries ſince the birth of Chriſt, and we are now in the eighteenth century. When any body ſays, then, for example, that ſuch a thing was done in the tenth century, they mean, after the year nine hundred, and before the year one thouſand after the birth of Chriſt.

Chriſt. When any body makes a miſtake in chronology, and ſays that a thing was done ſome years ſooner, or ſome years later than it really was, that error is called an Anachroniſm."

Having thus explained the meaning and uſe of hiſtory, geography, and chronology, and ſhewed the connection they have with one another; that is, how they are joined together, and depend each upon the other, he returns to conſider hiſtory more particularly by itſelf.

"The moſt ancient hiſtories of all," adds he, "are ſo mixed with fables, that is, with falſehoods and invention, that little credit is to be given to them. All the Heathen gods and goddeſſes, that you read of in the Poets, were only men and women; but, as they had either found out ſome uſeful invention, or had done a great deal of good in the countries where they lived, the people, who had a great veneration for them, made them gods and goddeſſes when they died, addreſſed their prayers, and raiſed altars to them. Thus Bacchus, the god of wine, was only the firſt man who invented the making of wine; which pleaſed the people ſo much, that they made a god of him: and may be they were drunk when they made him ſo. So Ceres, the goddeſs of plenty, who is always repreſented, in pictures, with wheat-ſheaves about her head, was only ſome good woman, who invented ploughing, and ſowing, and raiſing of corn: and the people, who owed their bread to her, deified her; that is, made a goddeſs of her. The caſe is the ſame of all the other Pagan gods and goddeſſes, which you read of in profane and fabulous hiſtory.

"The authentic, that is, the true ancient hiſtory, is divided into five remarkable periods or æras, of the five great empires of the world. The firſt empire of the world was the Aſſyrian, which was deſtroyed by the Medes. The empire of the Medes

Medes was overturned by the Perſians; and the empire of the Perſians was demoliſhed by the Macedonians, under Alexander the Great. The empire of Alexander the Great laſted no longer than his life; for at his death, his generals divided the world among them, and went to war with one another; till, at laſt, the Roman empire aroſe, ſwallowed them all up, and Rome became the miſtreſs of the world. Remember, then, that the five great empires, that ſucceeded each other, were theſe:

1. The Aſſyrian empire, firſt eſtabliſhed.
2. The empire of the Medes.
3. The Perſian empire.
4. The Macedonian empire.
5. The Roman empire."

His lordſhip next returns to a more particular conſideration of chronology.

"Chronology," he obſerves, "is the art of meaſuring and diſtinguiſhing time, or the doctrine of epochas, which you know are particular and remarkable periods of time. The word chronology is compounded of the Greek words χρονος, which ſignifies *time*, and λογος, which ſignifies *diſcourſe*. Chronology and geography are called the two eyes of hiſtory, becauſe hiſtory can never be clear and well underſtood without them. Hiſtory relates facts; chronology tells us what time, or when, thoſe facts were done; and geography ſhews us in what place or country they were done. The Greeks meaſured their time by Olympiads, which was a ſpace of four years, called in Greek Ολυμπιας. This method of computation had its riſe from the Olympic games, which were celebrated the beginning of every fifth year, on the banks of the river Alpheus, near Olympia, a city in Greece. The Greeks, for example, would ſay, that ſuch a thing happened in ſuch a year of ſuch an Olympiad: as for inſtance; that Alexander the Great died in the firſt year of the

the 114th Olympiad. The first Olympiad was 774 years before Christ; so, consequently, Christ was born in the first year of the 195th Olympiad.

" The period, or æra, from whence the Romans reckoned their time, was from the building of Rome; which they marked thus, *ab U. C.* that is, *ab Urbe Conditâ*. Thus, the kings were expelled, and the consular government established, the 244th *ab U. C.* that is, of Rome.

" All Europe now reckons from the great epocha of the birth of Jesus Christ, which was 1738 years ago; so that, when any body asks, in what year did such or such a thing happen, they mean in what year since the birth of Christ. For example; Charlemain, in French Charlemagne, was made emperor of the West in the year 800; that is, 800 years after the birth of Christ; but, if we speak of any event or historical fact that happened before that time, we then say, it happened so many years before Christ. For instance; we say Rome was built 750 years before Christ.

" The Turks date from their Hegira, which was the year of the flight of their false prophet, Mahomet, from Mecca; and as we say such a thing was done in such a year of Christ; they say, such a thing was done in such a year of the Hegira. Their Hegira begins in the 622d year of Christ, that is, above 1100 years ago.

" There are two great periods in chronology, from which the nations of Europe date events. The first is the creation of the world; the second, the birth of Jesus Christ.

" Those events that happened before the birth of Christ, are dated from the creation of the world. Those events which have happened since the birth of Christ, are dated from that time; as the present year 1739. For example:

Noah's

	A. M.
Noah's flood happened in the year of the world	1656
Babylon was built by Semiramis, in the year	1800
Moſes was born in the year	2400
Troy was taken by the Greeks, in the year	2800
Rome founded by Romulus, in the year	3225
Alexander the Great conquered Perſia	3674
Jeſus Chriſt born in the year of the world	4000

" The meaning of *A. M.* at the top of theſe figures, is *anno mundi*, the year of the world.

" From the birth of Chriſt, all Chriſtians date the events that have happened ſince that time; and this is called *the Chriſtian æra*. Sometimes we ſay, that ſuch a thing happened in ſuch a year of Chriſt, and ſometimes we ſay, in ſuch a century.

" For example, as to the Chriſtian æra, or ſince the birth of Chriſt:

	A. M.
Mahomet, the falſe prophet of the Turks, who eſtabliſhed the Mahometan religion, and wrote the Alcoran, which is the Turkiſh book of religion, died in the ſeventh century; that is, in the year of Chriſt	632
Charlemain was crowned emperor in the laſt year of the eighth century, that is, in the year	800
" Here the old Roman empire ended.	
William the Conqueror was crowned king of England in the eleventh century, in the year	1066
The Reformation, that is, the Proteſtant religion, begun by Martin Luther, in the ſixteenth century, in the year	1530
Gunpowder invented, by one Bertholdus, a German monk, in the fourteenth century, in the year	1380

Printing

A. M.

Printing invented, at Haerlem in Holland, or at Straſbourg, or at Mentz in Germany, in the fifteenth century, about the year 1440

After giving his pupil diſtinct ideas of hiſtory, geography, and chronology, the earl proceeds to ſpeak of oratory and poetry.

"The buſineſs of oratory," he obſerves, "is to perſuade people; and you eaſily feel, that to pleaſe people, is a great ſtep towards perſuading them. You muſt then, conſequently, be ſenſible how advantageous it is for a man, who ſpeaks in public, whether it be in Parliament, in the pulpit, or at the bar, (that is, in the courts of law) to pleaſe his hearers ſo much as to gain their attention: which he can never do, without the help of oratory. It is not enough to ſpeak the language he ſpeaks in its utmoſt purity, and according to the rules of grammar; but he muſt ſpeak it elegantly; that is, he muſt chuſe the beſt and moſt expreſſive words, and put them in the beſt order. He ſhould likewiſe adorn what he ſays by proper metaphors, ſimiles, and other figures of rhetoric; and he ſhould enliven it by quick and ſprightly turns of wit. For example; ſuppoſe you had a mind to perſuade Mr. Maittaire [the boy's ſchoolmaſter] to give you a holyday, would you bluntly ſay to him, Give me a holyday? That would certainly not be the way to perſuade him to it. But you ſhould endeavour firſt to pleaſe him, and gain his attention, by telling him that your experience of his goodneſs and indulgence encouraged you to aſk a favour of him; that, if he ſhould not think proper to grant it; at leaſt you hoped, he would not take it ill, that you aſked it. Then you ſhould tell him, what it was that you wanted; that it was a holyday; for which you ſhould give your reaſons; as, that you had ſuch or ſuch a thing to do, or ſuch or ſuch a place to go to.

Then

Then, you might urge ſome arguments why he ſhould not refuſe you: as, that you have ſeldom aſked that favour, and that you ſeldom will; and that the mind may ſometimes require a little reſt from labour as well as the body. This you may illuſtrate by a ſimile, and ſay, that as the bow is ſtronger, for being ſometimes unſtrung and unbent; ſo the mind will be capable of more attention, for being now and then eaſy and relaxed."

"Though poetry," continues he, "differs much from oratory in many things; yet it makes uſe of the ſame figures of rhetoric; nay it abounds in metaphors, ſimiles, and allegories; and you may learn the purity of the language, and the ornaments of eloquence, as well by reading verſe as proſe. Poetical diction, that is poetical language, is more ſublime and lofty than proſe, and takes liberties which are not allowed in proſe, and are called Poetical Licences. This difference between verſe and proſe you will eaſily obſerve, if you read them both with attention. In verſe, things are ſeldom ſaid plainly and ſimply, as one would ſay them in proſe; but they are deſcribed and embelliſhed: as for example; what you hear the watchman ſay often in three words, *a cloudy morning*, is ſaid thus in verſe in the tragedy of Cato:

> The dawn is overcaſt, the morning lowers,
> And heavily in clouds brings on the day.

This is poetical diction: which would be improper in proſe, though each word ſeparately may be uſed in proſe.

"I will give you, here, a very pretty copy of verſes of Mr. Waller's, which is extremely poetical, and full of images. It is to a lady who played upon the lute. The lute, by the way, is an inſtrument with many ſtrings, which are played upon by the fingers.

Such

Such moving ſounds from ſuch a careleſs touch,
So little ſhe concern'd, and we ſo much.
The trembling ſtrings about her fingers croud,
And tell their joy, for every kiſs, aloud.
Small force there needs to make them tremble ſo,
Touch'd by that hand, who would not tremble too?
Here Love takes ſtand, and while ſhe charms the ear,
Empties his quiver on the liſt'ning deer.
Muſic ſo ſoftens and diſarms the mind,
That not one arrow can reſiſtance find.
Thus the fair tyrant celebrates the prize,
And acts herſelf the triumph of her eyes.
So Nero once, with harp in hand, ſurvey'd
His flaming Rome: and as it burnt he play'd.

"Mind the poetical beauties of theſe verſes. He ſuppoſes the ſounds of the ſtrings, when ſhe touches them, to be the expreſſion of their joy for kiſſing her fingers. Then, he compares the trembling of the ſtrings to the trembling of a lover, who is ſuppoſed to tremble with joy and awe, when touched by the perſon he loves. He repreſents Love (who, you know, is deſcribed as a little boy, with a bow, arrows, and a quiver,) as ſtanding by her, and ſhooting his arrows at people's hearts, while her muſic ſoftens and diſarms them. Then he concludes with that fine ſimile of Nero, a very cruel Roman emperor, who ſet Rome on fire, and played on the harp all the while it was burning: for, as love is repreſented by the Poets as fire and flames; ſo ſhe, while people were burning for love of her, played, as Nero did while Rome, which he had ſet on fire, was burning."

Having already given a general idea of oratory and poetry, his lordſhip proceeds to a more particular conſideration of poetry; in which he appears to have been very fond that his ſon ſhould excel, till he found that the boy's genius did not lie that way. At any rate, it is certainly well calculated to induce an early habit of thinking. "You ſhould begin

to

to conſider," ſays he, " not only the meaſure of the verſes you read, but likewiſe the thoughts of the poet, and the ſimiles, metaphors, and alluſions, which are the ornaments of poetry, and raiſe it above proſe, and diſtinguiſh it from proſe, as much as the meaſure does. This attention to the thoughts and diction of other poets, will ſuggeſt both matter, and the manner of expreſſing it, to you, when you come to invent, yourſelf. Thoughts are the ſame in every language, and a good thought in one language is a good one in every other: thus, if you attend to the thoughts and images in French or Engliſh poetry, they will be of uſe to you, when you compoſe in Latin or Greek. I have met lately with a very pretty copy of Engliſh verſes, which I here ſend you to learn by heart; but firſt I will give you the thought in proſe, that you may obſerve how it is expreſſed, and adorned by poetical diction.

" The poet tells his miſtreſs, Florella, that ſhe is ſo unkind to him, ſhe will not even ſuffer him to look at her; that, to avoid her cruelty, he addreſſes himſelf to other women, who receive him kindly; but that, notwithſtanding this, his heart always returns to her, though ſhe uſes him ſo ill; and then he concludes with this beautiful and apt ſimile, in which he compares his fate to that of exiles, (that is, people who are baniſhed from their own country) who, though they are pitied in whatever country they go to, yet long to return to their own, where they are ſure to be uſed ill, and puniſhed.

Why will Florella, when I gaze,
My raviſh'd eyes reprove,
And hide from them the only face
They can behold with love?

To ſhun her ſcorn, and eaſe my care,
I ſeek a nymph more kind,
And while I rove from fair to fair,
Still gentler uſage find.

But oh! how faint is every joy,
Where Nature has no part!
New beauties may my eyes employ,
But you engage my heart.

So reſtleſs exiles, doom'd to roam,
Meet pity every where;
Yet languiſh for their native home,
Though death attends them there.

The ſimile

He continues his obſervations on poetry thus:

"Poets have greater liberties allowed them than proſe writers, which is called *poetical licence*. Horace ſays, that poets and painters have an equal privilege of attempting any thing. *Pictoribus atque poetis, quidlibet audendi, ſemper fuit æqua poteſtas.* Fiction, that is, invention, is ſaid to be the ſoul of poetry. For example; the poets give life to ſeveral inanimate things; that is, to things that have no life: as for inſtance; they repreſent the paſſions, as love, fury, envy, &c. under human figures; which figures are allegorical; that is, repreſent the qualities and effects of thoſe paſſions. Thus the poets repreſent love as a little boy, called Cupid, becauſe love is the paſſion of young people chiefly. He is repreſented blind likewiſe; becauſe love makes no diſtinction, and takes away the judgment. He has a bow and arrows, with which he is ſuppoſed to wound people, becauſe love gives pain: and he has a pair of wings to fly with; becauſe love is changeable, and apt to fly from one object to another. Fury likewiſe is repreſented under the figures of three women, called the three furies; Alecto, Megera, and Tiſiphone. They are deſcribed with lighted torches or flambeaux in their hands; becauſe rage and fury are for ſetting fire to every thing: they are likewiſe drawn with ſerpents hiſſing about their heads; becauſe ſerpents are poiſonous and deſtructive animals. Envy is deſcribed as a woman, melancholy,

melancholy, pale, livid, and pining; becauſe envious people are never pleaſed, but always repining at other people's happineſs: ſhe is ſuppoſed to feed upon ſerpents; becauſe envious people only comfort themſelves with the misfortunes of others."

He next defines taſte, and exemplifies it, as connected with invention or genius, in elegant deſcription:

"Taſte, in it's proper ſignification," ſays he, "means the taſte of the palate in eating or drinking; but it is metaphorically uſed for the judgment one forms of any art or ſcience. For example; if I ſay ſuch a man has a good taſte in poetry, I mean that he judges well of poetry, and diſtinguiſhes rightly what is good and what is bad; and finds out equally the beauties and the faults of the compoſition. Or if I ſay, that ſuch a man has a good taſte in painting, I mean the ſame thing; which is, that he is a good judge of pictures; and will diſtinguiſh not only good from bad ones, but very good ones from others not quite ſo good, but yet good ones. *Avoir le goût bon*, means the ſame thing in French: and nothing forms ſo true a taſte, as the reading the ancient authors with attention.

"Deſcription is a beautiful part of poetry, and much uſed by the beſt poets; it is likewiſe called painting, becauſe it repreſents things in ſo lively and ſtrong a manner, that we think we ſee them as in a picture. Thus Ovid deſcribes the palace of the ſun, or Apollo.

Regia Solis erat ſublimibus alta columnnis,
Clara micante auro, flammæſque imitante pyropo.
Cujus ebur nitidum faſtigia ſumma tenebat:
Argenti biſores radiabant lumine valvæ,
Materiam ſuperabat opus: nam Mulciber illic
Æquora cælarat medias cingentia terras,
Terrarumque orbem, cœlumque quod imminet orbi.

After

" Afterwards he deſcribes Phœbus himſelf, ſitting upon his throne.

——— *Purpureâ velatus veſte ſedebat*
In Solio Phœbus, claris lucente ſmaragdis.
A dextrâ lævque Dies, et Menſis, et Annus,
Sæculaque et poſitæ ſpatiis æqualibus Horæ;
Verque novum ſtabat, cinctum florente coronâ,
Stabat nuda Æſtas, et ſpicea ſerta gerebat,
Stabat et Autumnus calcatis ſordidus uvis,
Et glacialis Hyems, canos hirſuta capillos.

" Obſerve the invention in this deſcription. As the ſun is the great rule by which we meaſure time; and as it marks out the years, the months, the days, and the ſeaſons; ſo Ovid has repreſented Phœbus upon his throne, as the principal figure, attended by the years, days, months, and ſeaſons, which he likewiſe repreſents as ſo many perſons. This is properly invention, and invention is the ſoul of poetry. Poets have their name, upon that account, from the Greek word Ποιεω which ſignifies, to make, or invent.

" I mentioned in my laſt," continues he, " deſcription, or painting, as one of the ſhining marks or characteriſtics of poetry. The likeneſs muſt be ſtrong and lively; and make us almoſt think, that we ſee the thing before our eyes. Thus the following deſcription of hunger or famine, in Ovid, is ſo ſtriking, that one thinks one ſees ſome poor famiſhed wretch.

——— *Famem* lapidoſo *vidit in agro,*
Unguibus et raras *vellentem dentibus herbas.*
Hirtus *erat crinis,* cava *lumina, pallor in ore,*
Labra incana *ſitu,* ſcabræ *rubigine fauces,*
Dura *cutis, per quam ſpectari viſcera poſſent*
Oſſa ſub incurvis *extabant* arida *lumbis:*
Ventris erat pro ventre locus: pendere putares
Pectus, et a ſpinæ tantummodo crete teneri.

Obſerve the propriety and ſignificancy of the epithets. *Lapidoſo* is the epithet to *agro*; becauſe a ſtony ground produces very little graſs. *Raras* is the epithet to *herbas*, to mark how few and how ſcarce the herbs were, that

that famine was tearing with her teeth and nails. You will eaſily find out the other epithets.

" I will now give you an excellent piece of painting, or deſcription, in Engliſh verſe; it is in the tragedy of Phædra and Hippolytus.

So when *bright* Venus yielded up her charms,
The *bleſt* Adonis languiſhed in her arms.
His *idle* horn on *fragrant* myrtles hung;
His arrows *ſcattered*, and his bow *unſtrung*.
Obſcure, in coverts, lie his *dreaming* hounds,
And bay the *fancied* boar with *feeble* ſounds.
For nobler ſports he quits the *ſavage* fields,
And all the hero to the lover yields.

" I have marked the epithets, that you may the better obſerve them. Venus is called *bright*, upon account of her beauty: Adonis is called *bleſt*, becauſe Venus was in love with him: his horn is ſaid to be *idle*, becauſe he then laid it by, and made no uſe of it: the myrtles are called *fragrant*, becauſe the myrtle is a ſweet ſmelling tree; moreover, the myrtle is the particular tree ſacred to Venus: *ſcattered* arrows, becauſe laid by here and there, careleſsly. The bow *unſtrung*: it was the cuſtom to unſtring the bow when they did not uſe it, and it was the ſtronger for it afterwards. *Dreaming* hounds: hounds that are uſed to hunt, often dream they are hunting; as appears by their making the ſame noiſe, only not ſo loud, when they ſleep, as they do when they are hunting ſome wild beaſt: therefore, the ſounds are called *feeble*. *Savage* fields; ſo called from the roughneſs of field ſports, in compariſon to the tenderneſs and ſoftneſs of love.

" But it is not the words only that you ſhould mind," adds he, " but the ſenſe and beauties of the authors you read; which will furniſh you with matter, and teach you to think juſtly upon ſubjects. For example; if you were to ſay, in poetry, that it was morning, you would not barely ſay it was morning; that would not be poetical: but you

would

would repreſent the morning under ſome image, or by deſcription; as thus:

Lo! from the *roſy* eaſt her *purple* doors
The morn unfolds, adorn'd with *bluſhing* flowers;
The *leſſen'd* ſtars draw off and diſappear,
Whoſe *bright* battalions, laſtly, Lucifer
Brings up, and quits his ſtation in the rear.

Obſerve, that the day always riſes in the eaſt; and therefore it is ſaid, from the roſy eaſt: *roſy* is the epithet to eaſt; becauſe the break of day, or the Aurora, is of a reddiſh roſy colour. Obſerve too, that Lucifer is the name of that ſtar that diſappears the laſt in the morning; for the aſtronomers have given names to moſt of the ſtars. The three laſt lines, which have the ſame rhymes, are called a triplet, which is always marked as I have marked it.

The original Latin is thus in Ovid.

——— *Ecce vigil rutilo patefecit ab ortu*
Purpureas Aurora fores, et plena roſarum
Atria. Diffugiunt ſtellæ, quarum agmina cogit
Lucifer, et cæli ſtatione noviſſimus exit.

Here is another way of ſaying that it is morning, as Virgil expreſſes it:

Et jam prima novo ſpargebat lumine terras
Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile:
Jam ſole infuſo, jam rebus luce retectis.

Thus in Engliſh verſe:

And now Aurora, harbinger of day,
Roſe from the *ſaffron* bed where Tithon lay,
And ſprinkled o'er the world with *new-born* light:
The ſun now ſhining, all things brought to ſight.

"Tithon was the huſband of Aurora. Aurora, in poetical language, means the break of day, or the firſt part of the morning. Harbinger (by the way) means forerunner, or a perſon who is ſent beforehand, by another, upon a journey, to prepare things for him. The King has ſeveral harbingers, that go before him

upon the road, to prepare his lodging, and get every thing ready. So Aurora, or the morning, is called, by a metaphor, the harbinger of day, becauſe it foreruns the day."

A happier method was perhaps never deviſed for forming the mind of youth. He proſecutes his ſubject thus:

"The noon, or mid-day, that is twelve o'clock, is thus deſcribed by Ovid:

Fecerat exiguas jam Sol altiſſimus umbras.

And in another place,

Jamque dies rerum medias contraxerat umbras,
Et Sol ex æquo metâ diſtabat utrâque:

Becauſe the ſun, at noon, is exactly in the middle of its courſe, and, being then juſt perpendicular over our heads, makes the ſhadows very ſhort; whereas, when the ſun ſhines on either ſide of us, (as it does mornings and evenings) the ſhadows are very long; which you may obſerve any ſun-ſhiny day that you pleaſe. The evening is deſcribed thus by Ovid:

Jam labor exiguus Phœbo reſtabat: equique
Pulſabant pedibus ſpatium declivis Olympi:

Becauſe the courſe of the ſun, being ſuppoſed to be of one day, Phœbus (that is the ſun) is here ſaid to have little more remaining buſineſs to do; and his horſes are repreſented as going down hill; which points out the evening; the ſun, in the evening, ſeeming to go downwards. In another place he ſays,

Jamque dies exactus erat, tempuſque ſubibat,
Quod tu nec tenebras, nec poſſis dicere lucem:

For, in the duſk of the evening, one can neither call it day nor night.

Night is deſcribed by Virgil in this manner.

Nox erat, et terras animalia fuſa per omnes,
Alituum, Pecudumque genus, ſopor altus habebat.

"What

"What I mean, by ſending and explaining theſe things to you, (as I have ſaid before) is to uſe you to think and reflect a little yourſelf; and not to repeat words only, like a parrot, without minding or knowing the ſenſe and import of them. For example; when you read a deſcription of any thing, compare it with your own obſervations; and aſk yourſelf this queſtion, Is this ſo? Have I ever obſerved it before? And, if you have not obſerved it, take the firſt opportunity you can of doing it. For inſtance; if you have not already obſerved, that the ſhadows are long in the morning and the evening, and ſhort at noon, try it yourſelf, and ſee whether it is true or not. When you hear of the *roſy morn*, conſider with yourſelf why it is ſo called, and whether it ought to be called ſo or not; and obſerve the morning early, to ſee if it is not of a reddiſh, roſy colour. When you hear of night's ſpreading its ſable (that is black) wings over the world, conſider whether the gradual ſpreading of the darkneſs does not extend itſelf in the ſky like black wings. In ſhort, uſe yourſelf to think and reflect upon every thing you hear and ſee: examine every thing, and ſee whether it is true or not, without taking it upon truſt. For example; if you ſhould find, in any author, *the blue or azure ſun*, would you not immediately reflect, that could not be juſt; for the ſun is always red? and that he who could call it ſo muſt be either blind, or a fool."

Having in this manner taught his pupil to diſtinguiſh the propriety and impropriety of natural things, his lordſhip proceeds to the moral diſtinctions.

"When you read hiſtorical facts," ſays he, "think of them within yourſelf, and compare them with your own notions. For example; when you read of the firſt Scipio, who when he conquered Spain, took a beautiful Spaniſh princeſs priſoner, who was ſoon to have been married to a prince of that country, and returned her to her lover, not only untouched, but giving her a fortune beſides; are you not ſtruck with

the virtue and generoſity of that action? And can you help thinking with yourſelf, how virtuous it was in Scipio, who was a young man, unmarried, and a conqueror, to withſtand the temptation of beauty; and how generous it was to give her a fortune, to make amends for the misfortunes of the war? Another reflection too, that naturally occurs upon it, is, how virtuous actions never fail to be rewarded by the commendation and applauſe of all poſterity: for this happened above eighteen hundred years ago; is ſtill remembered with honour; and will be ſo as long as letters ſubſiſt: not to mention the infinite pleaſure Scipio muſt have felt himſelf, from ſuch a virtuous and heroic action."

To give his ſon and pupil ſtill more diſtinct ideas of natural and moral propriety, and likewiſe to induce a habit of thinking, he propoſes a ſubject of compoſition of each kind, which he illuſtrates in a moſt ſimple and beautiful manner.

"All you learn, and all you can read," obſerves he, "will be of little uſe, if you do not think and reaſon upon it yourſelf. If night, for example, were given you as a ſubject to compoſe upon, you would do very well to look what the beſt authors have ſaid upon it, in order to help your own invention; but then you muſt think of it afterwards yourſelf, and expreſs it in your own manner, or elſe you would be at beſt but a plagiary. A plagiary is a man who ſteals other people's thoughts, and puts them off for his own. You would find, for example, the following account of night in Virgil:

Nox erat, et placidum carpebant feſſa ſoporem
Corpora per terras; ſylvæque et ſæva quierant
Æquora; cum medio volvuntur ſidera lapſu;
Cum tacet omnis ager, pecudes pictæque volucres,
Quæque lacus latè liquidos, quæque aſpera dumis
Rura tenent; ſomno poſitæ ſub nocte ſilenti
Lenibant curas, et corda oblita laborum.

"Here

" Here you see the effects of night; that it brings rest to men, when they are wearied with the labour of the day; that the stars move in their regular courses; that flocks and birds repose themselves, and enjoy the quiet of the night. This upon examination, you would find to be all true; but then, upon consideration, too, you would find, that it is not all that is to be said upon night: and many more qualities and effects of night would occur to you. As for instance; though night is in general the time of quiet and repose, yet it is often the time, too, for the commission and security of crimes; such as robberies, murders, and violations; which generally seek the advantage of darkness, as favourable for the escapes of the guilty. Night, too, though it brings rest and refreshment to the innocent and virtuous, brings disquiet and horror to the guilty. The consciousness of their crimes torments them, and denies them sleep and quiet. You might, from these reflections, consider what would be the proper epithets to give to night: as for example; if you were to represent night in its most pleasing shape, as procuring quiet and refreshment from labour and toil, you might call it the *friendly* night, the *silent* night, the *welcome* night, the *peaceful* night: but if on the contrary, you were to represent it as inviting to the commission of crimes, you would call it, the *guilty* night, the *conscious* night, the *horrid* night; with many other epithets, that carry along with them the idea of horror and guilt: for an epithet to be proper, must always be adapted (that is, suited) to the circumstances of the person or thing to which it is given." He continues thus:

" Virtue is a subject that deserves your and every man's attention; and suppose I were to bid you make some verses, or give me your thoughts in prose, upon the subject of virtue, How would you go about it? Why you would first consider what virtue is, and then what are the effects and marks of it, both with regard to others and to one's self. You would find,

then, that virtue conſiſts in doing good, and in ſpeaking truth; that the effects of it, are advantageous to all mankind, and to one's ſelf in particular. Virtue makes us pity and relieve the misfortunes of mankind; it makes us promote juſtice and good order in ſociety; and, in general contributes to whatever tends to the real good of mankind. To ourſelves it gives an inward comfort and ſatisfaction, which nothing elſe can do, and which nothing can rob us of. All other advantages depend upon others, as much as upon ourſelves. Riches, power, and greatneſs may be taken away from us, by the violence and injuſtice of others, or by inevitable accidents; but virtue depends only upon ourſelves, and nobody can take it away from us. Sickneſs may deprive us of all the pleaſures of the body; but it cannot deprive us of our virtue, nor of the ſatisfaction which we feel from it. A virtuous man, under all the misfortunes of life, ſtill finds an inward comfort and ſatisfaction, which makes him happier than any wicked man can be, with all the other advantages of life. If a man has acquired great power and riches by falſehood, injuſtice, and oppreſſion, he cannot enjoy them; becauſe his conſcience will torment him, and conſtantly reproach him with the means by which he got them. The ſtings of his conſcience will not even let him ſleep quietly; but he will dream of his crimes: and in the day-time, when alone, and when he has time to think, he will be uneaſy and melancholy. He is afraid of every thing; for, as he knows mankind muſt hate him, he has reaſon to think they will hurt him, if they can. Whereas, if a virtuous man be ever ſo poor, or unfortunate in the world, ſtill his virtue is its own reward, and will comfort him under all afflictions. The quiet and ſatisfaction of his conſcience make him chearful by day and ſleep ſound of nights: he can be alone with pleaſure, and is not afraid of his own thoughts. Beſides this, he is univerſally eſteemed and reſpect-

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ed: for even the most wicked people themselves, cannot help admiring and respecting virtue in others."

Concluding his son, as may be supposed, to have now pretty distinct ideas of elegant composition, of virtue and of vice, the earl of Chesterfield proceeds to give him the rudiments of politeness.

"Learning, honour, and virtue," observes he, "are absolutely necessary to gain you the esteem and admiration of mankind; politeness and good-breeding are equally necessary, to make you welcome and agreeable in conversation, and common life. Great talents, such as honour, virtue, learning, and parts, are above the generality of the world; who neither possess them themselves, nor judge of them rightly in others: but all people are judges of the lesser talents, such as civility, affability, and an obliging, agreeable address and manner; because they feel the good effects of them, as making society easy and pleasing.

"Good-sense must, in many cases, determine good-breeding; because the same thing that would be civil at one time, and to one person, may be quite otherwise at another time, and to another person; but there are some general rules of good-breeding, that hold always true, and in all cases. As for example; it is always extremely rude, to answer only yes, or no, to any body, without adding, sir, my lord, or madam, according to the quality of the person you speak to; as, in French, you must always say, *Monsieur*, *Milord*, *Madame*, and *Mademoiselle*. I suppose you know that every married woman is, in French, *Madame*, and every unmarried one is *Mademoiselle*. It is likewise extremely rude, not to give the proper attention, and a civil answer, when people speak to you; or to go away, or be doing something else, while they are speaking to you; for that convinces them that you despise them, and do not think it worth your while to hear or answer what they say.

" I dare ſay I need not tell you how rude it is, to take the beſt place in a room, or to ſeize immediately upon what you like at table, without offering firſt to help others; as if you conſidered nobody but yourſelf. On the contrary, you ſhould always endeavour to procure all the conveniencies you can, to the people you are with.

" Beſides being civil, which is abſolutely neceſſary, the perfection of good-breeding is, to be civil with eaſe, and in a gentleman-like-manner. For this, you ſhould obſerve the French people; who excel in it, and whoſe politeneſs ſeems as eaſy and natural as any other part of their converſation. Whereas the Engliſh are often aukward in their civilities, and when they mean to be civil, are too much aſhamed to get it out. But, pray, do you remember never to be aſhamed of doing what is right: you would have a great deal of reaſon to be aſhamed, if you were not civil; but what reaſon can you have to be aſhamed of being civil? And why not ſay a civil and obliging thing, as eaſy and as naturally, as you would aſk what o'clock it is? This kind of baſhfulneſs, which is juſtly called, by the French, *mauvaiſe honte*, is the diſtinguiſhing character of an Engliſh booby; who is frightened out of his wits, when people of faſhion ſpeak to him; and, when he is to anſwer them, bluſhes, ſtammers, can hardly get out what he would ſay; and becomes really ridiculous, from a groundleſs fear of being laughed at: whereas a real well-bred man would ſpeak to all the kings in the world, with as little concern, and as much eaſe, as he would ſpeak to you.

" Remember, then, that to be civil, and to be civil with eaſe (which is properly called good-breeding) is the only way to be beloved, and well received in company; that to be ill bred, and rude, is intolerable, and the way to be kicked out of company; an that to be baſhful, is to be ridiculous."

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It would be in vain here to observe, that, as the earl of Chesterfield was one of the greatest masters of politeness that ever lived, his precepts are the most excellent that have been published on that subject; but I cannot help observing, that he seems rather to place too much stress upon external accomplishments. He continues thus:

"I have often told you (and it is most certainly true) that the strictest and most scrupulous honour, and virtue, can alone make you esteemed and valued by mankind; that parts and learning can alone make you admired and celebrated by them; but that the possession of lesser talents was most absolutely necessary, towards making you liked, beloved, and sought after in private life. Of these lesser talents, good-breeding is the principal and most necessary one, not only as it is very important in itself; but as it adds great lustre to the more solid advantages both of the heart and the mind.

"I have touched upon good-breeding to you before; so that this letter shall be upon the next necessary qualification to it, which is a genteel, easy manner, and carriage, wholly free from those odd tricks, ill habits, and aukwardnesses, which even many very worthy and sensible people have in their behaviour. However trifling a genteel manner may sound, it is of very great consequence towards pleasing in private life, especially the women; which, one time or other, you will think worth pleasing: and I have known, many a man, from his aukwardness, give people such a dislike of him at first, that all his merit could not get the better of it afterwards. Whereas a genteel manner prepossesses people in your favour, bends them towards you, and makes them wish to like you.

"Aukwardness can proceed but from two causes; either from not having kept good company, or from not having attended to it. As for your keeping good company, I will take care of that; do you take care to observe their ways and manners, and to form your

own upon them. Attention is abſolutely neceſſary for this, as indeed it is for every thing elſe; and a man without attention is not fit to live in the world.

" When an aukward fellow firſt comes into a room, it is highly probable, that his ſword gets between his legs, and throws him down, or makes him ſtumble, at leaſt; when he has recovered this accident, he goes and places himſelf in the very place of the whole room where he ſhould not; there he ſoon lets his hat fall down, and, in taking it up again, throws down his cane; in recovering his cane, his hat falls a ſecond time; ſo that he is a quarter of an hour before he is in order again. If he drinks tea or coffee, he certainly ſcalds his mouth and lets either the cup or the ſaucer fall, and ſpills the tea or coffee in his breeches. At dinner, his awkwardneſs diſtinguiſhes itſelf particularly, as he has more to do: there he holds his knife, fork, and ſpoon differently from other people; eats with his knife to the great danger of his mouth, picks his teeth with his fork and puts his ſpoon, which has been in his throat twenty times, into the diſhes again. If he is to carve, he can never hit the joint; but, in his vain efforts to cut through the bone, ſcatters the ſauce in every body's face. He generally daubs himſelf with ſoup and greaſe, though his napkin is commonly ſtuck through his button-hole, and tickles his chin. When he drinks, he infallibly coughs in his glaſs, and be-ſprinkles the company. Beſides all this, he has ſtrange tricks and geſtures; ſuch as ſnuffing up his noſe, making faces, putting his fingers in his noſe, then blowing it and looking afterwards in his handkerchief, ſo as to make the company ſick. His hands are troubleſome to him, when he has not ſomething in them, and he does not know where to put them; but they are in perpetual motion between his boſom and his breeches; he does not wear his clothes, and in ſhort, does nothing like other people. All this I own, is not in any degree criminal; but it is highly diſagreeable and ridiculous in company, and

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ought moſt carefully to be avoided, by whoever deſires to pleaſe.

"From this account of what you ſhould not do, you may eaſily judge what you ſhould do; and a due attention to the manners of people of faſhion, and who have ſeen the world, will make it habitual and familiar to you.

"There is, likewiſe, an aukwardneſs of expreſſion and words, moſt carefully to be avoided; ſuch as falſe Engliſh, bad pronunciation, old ſayings, and common proverbs; which are ſo many proofs of having kept bad and low company. For example; if, inſtead of ſaying that 'taſtes are different, and that every man has his own peculiar one,' you ſhould let off a proverb, and ſay, that 'what is one man's meat is another man's poiſon;' or elſe, 'every one as they like, as the good man ſaid when he kiſſed his cow;' every body would be perſuaded that you had never kept company with any body above footmen and houſemaids.

"Attention will do all this; and without attention nothing is to be done: want of attention, which is really want of thought, is either folly or madneſs. You ſhould not only have attention to every thing, but a quickneſs of attention, ſo as to obſerve, at once all the people in the room; their motions, their looks, and their words; and yet without ſtaring at them, and ſeeming to be an obſerver. This quick and unobſerved obſervation is of infinite advantage in life, and is to be acquired with care; and, on the contrary, what is called abſence, which is a thoughtleſſneſs, and want of attention about what is doing, makes a man ſo like either a fool or a madman, that, for my part, I ſee no real difference. A fool never has thought; a madman has loſt it; and an abſent man is, for the time, without it.

"I warned you, in my laſt," adds he "againſt thoſe diſagreeable tricks and aukwardneſſes, which many people contract when they are young, by the negligence of their parents, and cannot get quit of them

them when they are old; ſuch as odd motions, ſtrange poſtures, and ungenteel carriage. But there is likewiſe an aukwardneſs of the mind, that ought to be, and with care may be, avoided: as for inſtance; to miſtake or forget names; to ſpeak of Mr. What-d'ye-call-him, or Mrs. Thingum, or How-d'ye-call-her, is exceſſively aukward and ordinary. To call people by improper titles and appellations is ſo too; as, my Lord, for Sir; and Sir, for my Lord. To begin a ſtory or narration, when you are not perfect in it, and cannot go through with it; but are forced, poſſibly, to ſay, in the middle of it, "I have forgot the reſt," is very unpleaſant and bungling. One muſt be extremely exact, clear, and perſpicuous in every thing one ſays, otherwiſe, inſtead of entertaining or informing others one only tires and puzzles them.

"The voice and manner of ſpeaking too, are not to be neglected: ſome people almoſt ſhut their mouths when they ſpeak, and mutter ſo, that they are not to be underſtood; others ſpeak ſo faſt, and ſputter, that they are not to be underſtood neither; ſome always ſpeak as loud as if they were talking to deaf people; and others ſo low that one cannot hear them. All theſe habits are aukward and diſagreeable, and are to be avoided by attention: they are the diſtinguiſhing marks of the ordinary people, who have had no care taken of their education.

"You cannot imagine how neceſſary it is to mind all theſe little things; for I have ſeen many people with great talents, ill received, for want of having theſe talents too; and others well received, only from their little talents, and who had no great ones. It is good-breeding alone that can prepoſſeſs people in your favour at firſt ſight: more time being neceſſary to diſcover greater talents. This good-breeding, you know, does not conſiſt in low bows and formal ceremony; but in an eaſy, civil, and reſpectful behaviour. I hardly know any thing ſo difficult to attain, or ſo neceſſary to poſſeſs, as perfect good-breeding; which is equally inconſiſtent with a ſtiff formality, an impertinent

tinent forwardneſs, and an aukward baſhfulneſs. A little ceremony is often neceſſary; a certain degree of firmneſs is abſolutely ſo; and an outward modeſty is extremely becoming: the knowledge of the world, and your own obſervations, muſt, and alone can, tell you the proper quantities of each."

I ſhall here conclude what I have taken the liberty to call the *firſt part* of the ſyſtem of Education, and proceed with his lordſhip's life.

CHAP. V.

His Lordſhip's Conduct as Envoy at the Hague, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Secretary of State, with his continued Attention to the Education of his Son.

THE uniformity of the Earl of Cheſterfield's conduct, in oppoſing the meaſures of the court, under different adminiſtrations, in which he might certainly have had a ſhare, had now put his motives beyond diſpute. The king, as well as the people, was convinced, that his oppoſition proceeded from principle; from a belief that ſuch meaſures were wrong: his majeſty was therefore pleaſed to appoint him lord lieutenant of Ireland, on the 3d day of January, 1745. In the ſame month he was appointed ambaſſador extraordinary to the States General, and ſet out immediately for the Hague.

The purpoſe of this embaſſy was, to prevail on the Dutch to engage more heartily in the war; as appears by the credential letter with which his lordſhip was charged by his Britannic majeſty to the State General, of which the following is a copy.

" *High and mighty Lords, our good Friends, Allies, and Confederates,*

" AT a time when the common enemy is doing it's utmoſt endeavours to advance the fatal projects of an unbounded ambition, by overturning the balance of power in Europe, and by endeavouring to impoſe

impoſe an intire and inſupportable dependence both to your republic and our crown; we have thought proper to give you a freſh and diſtinguiſhing proof of our affection, by ſending to you, as our ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, our moſt faithful and well-beloved couſin and counſellor, Philip earl of Cheſterfield, lord lieutenant of our kingdom of Ireland. After having fully acquainted him with our ſentiments, we charged him to regulate every thing with you that may be neceſſary for the ſupport of our mutual intereſt. We have alſo authoriſed him, to conſult both with the miniſters and generals of your ſtate, and with thoſe of the other allies, about what is neceſſary to be done, in order to obtain, as ſoon as poſſible a good and ſolid peace, by carrying on the war with vigour.

"We therefore hope, that you will receive our ſaid ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary with cordiality and diſtinction, and that he will find you diſpoſed to ſecond our intentions, full of love and confidence for your republic, by uniting your forces and your intereſts, without reſerve, to ours, by an intire and unlimited accompliſhment of the treaties which link you inſeparably with us; deſiring you, as to the reſt, to lend a favourable ear to our ſaid ambaſſador, and give entire credit to every thing he ſhall repreſent to you on our part.

"We repeat to you the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of a friendſhip, eſteem, and affection, which will never ceaſe; and we pray God to keep you, high and mighty lords, our good friends, allies, and confederates, under his holy protection. — Given at our court, at St. James's, Jan. 9, 1745, and the 18th year of our reign.

"Your very good friend,

"GEORGE R."

How faithfully the earl of Cheſterfield executed his charge, will appear by the following elegant and

and public-ſpirited memorial, which he delivered to the deputies of the States General (the 18th of May 1745,) on taking leave of their high mightineſſes.

" *High and mighty Lords,*

" The king my maſter, in permitting me to return to England, has given me expreſs orders to renew to your high mightineſſes the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his eſteem and friendſhip.

" It is happy for me, that ſo honourable a commiſſion lays ſo eaſy a duty on me.

" As a faithful interpreter of the ſentiments of a ſincere friendſhip, I ſhall beware of borrowing the flattering expreſſions with which a feigned friendſhip wants to ſet itſelf off.

" Let crafty policy employ the moſt ſeducing artifices to cover it's ambitious deſigns; let it put every ſpring in motion to deceive your confidence, or at leaſt lull you into fatal ſecurity: true friendſhip, ſuch as that which unites the king my maſter with your High Mightineſſes, deſpiſes thoſe artifices, and abhors thoſe indirect means; it is ſimple, and its language is the ſame.

" The cloſe union of the two nations is neither the effect of ſome tranſient views, nor the fruit of accidental conjectures, but a right conſequence of our reciprocal and invariable intereſts. Nature pointed it out to us, in placing us as ſhe has done; and the uninterrupted experience of almoſt a century, does not permit us to be ignorant that our mutual proſperity depends on our union. This truth is ſo indiſputable, that we ought to look upon as our common enemies, all thoſe who preſume to call it in queſtion.

" Vicinity is to moſt nations nothing elſe but a fatal ſource of jealouſy and diſcord; whereas we have the ſingular happineſs of being neighbours in a manner fit to procure us infinite advantages, without a poſſibility of any diſtruſt or umbrage ariſing therefrom, if we do not forget our grand intereſts.

" Such

" Such are the king's notions; and, by what I have obſerved myſelf, I ſhall dare to aſſure him, that your High Mightineſſes are in the ſame way of thinking. Who can be ignorant of it?—Our allies know it; our enemies feel it. Europe has already often reaped the precious fruits of our harmony: what ought it not yet to expect from it?

" The love of liberty, which founded this republic, and has ſince ſo often ſignalized her; this ſo noble and generous love, ſtill unites your ſtrength and your councils to thoſe of the king my maſter. Actuated by the ſame ſpirit, and aiming at the ſame end, the ſole object of your efforts is to reſtore and ſecure the public liberty and tranquility. What deſign more laudable!—What work more worthy of a great and magnanimous zeal!—Purſue, High and Mighty Lords, this deſign with your wonted ſteadineſs and wiſdom; continue thoſe efforts, without ſuffering yourſelves to be diſcouraged: and may Heaven crown your enterprizes with the ſucceſs they deſerve!

" As for what relates to myſelf, High and Mighty Lords, nothing more pleaſing could have happened to me, than being charged for the ſecond time with the king's orders near your High Mightineſſes; eſpecially on an occaſion where the buſineſs was to concert means to perform the engagements which I contributed to form ſome years ago.

" I ſhall never forget the kind reception I met with then, and at preſent, from your High Mightineſſes; and my gratitude will end but with my days: but, if your High Mightineſſes will vouchſafe to remember me, view me, high and mighty lords, only on the ſide of my ſincere zeal for the common good of both nations; my reſpectful veneration for your government; and, if I may preſume to uſe the expreſſion, my tender attachment to this republic.

Done at the Hague,
May 18, 1745. CHESTERFIELD."

On his majeſty's going abroad in the ſame year, the earl of Cheſterfield was declared one of the Lords Juſtices for the adminiſtration of the government in his abſence: but his lordſhip's preſence being wanted in Ireland, he ſet out for his viceroyſhip, and landed at Dublin in the latter end of the month of Auguſt. His lordſhip opened the ſeſſion of parliament, on the 8*th* day of October following, with the following ſpeech, admirably adapted to the circumſtances of the times.

The SPEECH *of his Excellency* PHILIP *Earl of* CHESTERFIELD, *Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of* Ireland, *to both Houſes of Parliament.*

" *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" I AM honoured with the king's commands to meet you here in parliament, and to co-operate with you in whatever may tend to eſtabliſh, or promote the true intereſt of this kingdom.

" His majeſty's tender concern for all his ſubjects, and your zeal and duty for him, have mutually been too long experienced for me now to repreſent the one, or recommend the other.

" Your own reflections will beſt ſuggeſt to you the advantages you have enjoyed under a ſucceſſion of Proteſtant Princes, by principle inclined, and by legal authority enabled, to preſerve and protect you; as your own hiſtory, and even the experience of ſome live among you, will beſt paint the miſeries and calamities of a people ſcourged, rather than governed, by blind zeal and lawleſs power.

" Theſe conſiderations muſt neceſſarily excite your higheſt indignation at the attempt now carrying on in Scotland, to diſturb his majeſty's government, by a Pretender to his crown: one nurſed up in civil and religious error; formed to perſecution and oppreſſion, in the ſeat of ſuperſtition and tyranny; whoſe groundleſs claim is as contrary to the natural rights of mankind, as to the particular laws and conſtitutions

tions of theſe kingdoms; whoſe only hopes of ſupport are placed in the enemies of the liberties of Europe in general; and whoſe ſucceſs would conſequently deſtroy your liberty, your property, and your religion. But this ſucceſs is little to be feared, his majeſty's ſubjects giving daily and diſtinguiſhed proofs of their zeal for the ſupport of his government, and the defence of his perſon; and a conſiderable number of national troops, together with ſix thouſand Dutch, chearfully furniſhed to his majeſty by his good allies the States General, being now upon their march to Scotland; a force more than ſufficient to check the progreſs, and chaſtiſe the inſolence of a rebellious and undiſciplined multitude.

"The meaſures that have hitherto been taken to prevent the growth of Popery have, I hope, had ſome, and will ſtill have, a greater effect: however, I leave it to your conſideration, whether nothing further can be done, either by new laws, or by the more effectual execution of thoſe in being, to ſecure this nation againſt the great number of Papiſts; whoſe ſpeculative errors would only deſerve pity, if their pernicious influence upon civil ſociety did not both require and authoriſe reſtraint.

"*Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,*

"I have ordered the proper officers to lay before you the ſeveral accounts and eſtimates, and I have the pleaſure of acquainting you, that I have nothing to aſk but the uſual and neceſſary ſupplies for the ſupport of the eſtabliſhment.

"The king having thought it neceſſary, at this time, to ſend for two battalions more from hence, has ordered, that, immediately upon their landing in England, they ſhall be put upon the Britiſh eſtabliſhment; and that the ſupplemental increaſe of regular forces, for your defence here, ſhall be made in the leaſt expenſive manner, by additional companies only; after which augmentation, the number of troops will ſtill be within the uſual military eſtabliſhment.

"*My*

" *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" It is with the greateſt ſatisfaction that I hear of the preſent flouriſhing ſtate of your linen manufacture, and I moſt earneſtly recommend to you the care and improvement of ſo valuable a branch of your trade; let not this proſperity produce negligence; and let it never be ſuppoſed to be brought to its utmoſt extent or perfection. Trade has always been the beſt ſupport of all nations, and the principal care of the wiſeſt.

" I perſuade myſelf, that the buſineſs of this ſeſſion will be carried on with that temper and unanimity which a true and unbiaſſed regard for the public naturally produces, and which the preſent ſtate of affairs more particularly demands. For my own part, I make you no profeſſions; you will, you ought to judge of me, only by my actions."

Both houſes, in conſequence of this ſpeech, agreed upon very loyal addreſſes to his majeſty, expreſſing their utmoſt indignation at, and abhorrence of the rebellion in Scotland, and promiſing to ſtand by his majeſty with their lives and fortunes; and by his lordſhip's vigilance, and prudent adminiſtration, which was univerſally admired, all was kept quiet in Ireland. He was indeed ſo much eſteemed there, that moſt or all the chief cities in that kingdom entered into aſſociations for the defence of the reigning family.

But, amidſt all this multiplicity of buſineſs, the earl of Cheſterfield ſtill found time to attend to the education of his ſon, as appears by the following letters; which, as they appear to have but a remote connection with the general ſyſtem, I ſhall give in this place:—and, the better to ſhew his lordſhip's paternal affection, I ſhall prefix the date to each.

Dear Boy, Dublin Caſtle, Nov. 19, 1745.

" NOW, that the Chriſtmas breaking-up draws near, I have ordered Mr. Deſnoyers to go to you, during that time, to teach you to dance. I deſire you will particularly attend to the graceful motion of your

your arms; which, with the manner of putting on your hat, and giving your hand, is all that a gentleman need attend to Dancing in itſelf is a very trifling, ſilly thing; but it is one of thoſe eſtabliſhed follies to which people of ſenſe are ſometimes obliged to conform; and then they ſhould be able to do it well. And, though I would not have you a dancer, yet, when you do dance, I would have you dance well, as I would have you do every thing, you do, well.—There is no one thing ſo trifling, but which (if it is to be done at all) ought to be done well. And I have often told you, that I wiſhed you even played at pitch, and cricket, better than any boy at Weſtminſter. For inſtance; dreſs is a very fooliſh thing; and yet it is a very fooliſh thing for a man not to be well dreſſed, according to his rank and way of life; and it is ſo far from being a diſparagement to any man's underſtanding, that it is rather a proof of it, to be as well dreſſed as thoſe whom he lives with. The difference in this caſe, between a man of ſenſe and a fop is, that the fop values himſelf upon his dreſs; and the man of ſenſe laughs at it, at the ſame time that he knows he muſt not neglect it. There are a thouſand fooliſh cuſtoms of this kind, which, not being criminal, muſt be complied with, and even chearfully, by men of ſenſe. Diogenes, the cynic was a wiſe man for deſpiſing them; but a fool, for ſhowing it. Be wiſer than other people, if you can; but do not tell them ſo. Good night."

"SIR, Dublin Caſtle, Feb. 8, 1746.

"I have been honoured with two letters from you, ſince I troubled you with my laſt; and I have likewiſe received a letter from Mr. Morel, containing a ſhort, but beautiful manuſcript, ſaid to be yours; but, I confeſs, I can hardly believe it, becauſe it is ſo very different from your common writing; and I will not ſuppoſe that you do not always write as well as you can; for to do any thing ill, that one can do well,

well, is a degree of negligence, which I can never suspect you of. I always applauded your laudable ambition of excelling in every thing you attempted; and therefore make no doubt but that you will, in a little time, be able to write full as well as the person (whoever he was) that wrote that manuscript, which is said to be yours. People like you have a contempt for mediocrity, and are not satisfied with escaping censure; they aim at praise, and, by desiring, seldom fail deserving and acquiring it.

"You propose, I find, Demosthenes for your model; and you have chosen very well: but remember the pains he took to be what he was. He spoke near the sea, in storms, both to use himself to speak loud, and not to be disturbed by the noise and tumult of public assemblies; he put stones in his mouth, to help his elocution, which naturally was not advantageous: from which facts I conclude, that, whenever he spoke, he opened both his lips and his teeth; and that he articulated every word and every syllable distinctly, and full loud enough to be heard the whole length of my library.

"As he took so much pains for the graces of oratory only, I conclude he took still more for the more solid parts of it. I am apt to think he applied himself extremely, to the propriety, the purity, and elegancy of his language; to the distribution of the parts of his oration; to the force of his arguments; to the strength of his proofs; and to the passions, as well as the judgments of his audience. I fancy he began with an *exordium*, to gain the good opinion and the affections of his audience; that afterwards he stated the point in question, briefly, but clearly; that he then brought his proofs, afterwards his arguments; and that he concluded with a *peroratio*, in which he recapitulated the whole succinctly, enforced the strong parts; and artfully slipped over the weak ones; and at last made his strong push at the passions of his hearers. Wherever you would persuade or prevail, address yourself

to

to the paſſions; it is by them that mankind is to be taken. Cæſar bid his ſoldiers, at the battle of Pharſalia, aim at the faces of Pompey's men; they did ſo, and prevailed. I bid you ſtrike at the paſſions; and if you do, you too will prevail. If you can once engage people's pride, love, pity, ambition (or whichever is their prevailing paſſion) on your ſide, you need not fear what their reaſon can do againſt you. Your, &c."

Dublin Caſtle, March 10, 1746.

SIR,

"I moſt thankfully acknowledge the honour of two or three letters from you, ſince I troubled you with my laſt; and am very proud of the repeated inſtances you give me of your favour and protection, which I ſhall endeavour to deſerve.

"I am very glad you went to hear a trial in the Court of King's Bench, and ſtill more ſo, that you made the proper animadverſions upon the inattention of many of the people in the Court. As you obſerved, very well, the indecency of that inattention, I am ſure you will never be guilty of any thing like it yourſelf. There is no ſurer ſign in the world of a little, weak mind, than inattention. Whatever is worth doing at all, is worth doing well; and nothing can be done well without attention. It is the ſure anſwer of a fool, when you aſk him about any thing that was ſaid or done, where he was preſent, that, "truly he did not mind it:" And why did not the fool mind it? What had he elſe to do there, but to mind what was doing? A man of ſenſe ſees, hears, and retains every thing that paſſes where he is.

"I deſire I may never hear you talk of not minding, nor complain, as moſt fools do, of a treacherous memory. Mind not only what people ſay, but how they ſay it; and, if you have any ſagacity, you may diſcover more truth by your eyes than by your ears. People can ſay what they will, but they cannot look juſt as they will: and their looks frequently diſcover, what their

their words are calculated to conceal. Observe, therefore, people's looks carefully, when they speak, not only to you, but to each other. I have often guessed, by people's faces, what they were saying, though I could not hear one word they said. The most material knowledge of all, I mean the knowledge of the world, is never to be acquired without great attention; and I know many old people, who though they have lived long in the world, are but children still as to the knowledge of it, from their levity and inattention. Certain forms, which all people comply with, and certain arts, which all people aim at, hide in some degree, the truth, and give a general exterior resemblance to almost every body. Attention and sagacity must see through that veil, and discover the natural character.

"You are of an age, now, to reflect, to observe and compare characters, and to arm yourself against the common arts, at least, of the world. If a man, with whom you are but barely acquainted, to whom you have made no offers, nor given any marks of friendship, makes you, on a sudden, strong professions of his, receive them with civility, but do not repay them with confidence; he certainly means to deceive you; for one man does not fall in love with another at sight. If a man uses strong protestations or oaths, to make you believe a thing, which is of itself so likely and probable, that the bare saying of it would be sufficient, depend upon it he lies, and is highly interested in making you believe it; or else he would not take so much pains.

"In about five weeks, I propose having the honour of laying myself at your feet; which I hope to find grown longer than they were when I left them. Adieu."

The pompous pleasantry with which this letter concludes, unriddles the mystery of the solemn *Sir*, with which it and the foregoing are introduced.

DEAR

"DEAR BOY, April the 5th 1746.

"Before it is very long, I am of opinion, that you will both think and ſpeak more favourably of women than you do now. You ſeem to think, that, from Eve downwards, they have done a great deal of miſchief. As for that Lady, I give her up to you; but, ſince her time, hiſtory will inform you, that men have done much more miſchief in the world than women; and to ſay the truth, I would not adviſe you to truſt either, more than is abſolutely neceſſary.—But this I will adviſe you to: Never attack whole bodies of any kind; for beſides that all general rules have their exceptions, you unneceſſarily make yourſelf a great number of enemies, by attacking a *corps* collectively. Among women, as among men, there are good as well as bad, and it may be, full as many, or more, good than among men. This rule holds as to lawyers, ſoldiers, parſons, courtiers, citizens, &c. they are all men, ſubject to the ſame paſſions and ſentiments, differing only in the manner, according to their ſeveral educations; and it would be as imprudent as unjuſt to attack any of them by the lump. Individuals forgive ſometimes; but bodies and ſocieties never do. Many young people think it very genteel and witty to abuſe the Clergy; in which they are extremely miſtaken; ſince, in my opinion, parſons are very like men, and neither the better nor the worſe for wearing a black gown. All general reflections, upon nations and ſocieties, are the trite thread-bare jokes of thoſe who ſet up for wit without having any, and ſo have recourſe to common place. Judge of individuals from your own knowledge of them, and not from their ſex, profeſſion, or denomination.

"Though, at my return, which, I hope, will be very ſoon, I ſhall not find your feet lengthened, I hope I ſhall find your head a good deal ſo, and then I ſhall not much mind your feet. In two or three

months after my return, you and me shall part for some time: you must go to read men, as well as books, of all languages and nations. Observation and reflections will then be very necessary for you. We will talk this matter over fully when we meet; which, I hope, will be in the last week of this month; till when I have the honour of being

Your most faithful servant."

On the 11th day of April, 1746, his lordship, having given his assent to several acts very conducive to the welfare of the kingdom of Ireland, concluded the session of parliament with the following excellent speech from the throne.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"The business of the session being now concluded, I believe, you cannot be unwilling to return to your respective counties; as you must be sensible, that the many good laws which you have passed will receive an additional weight by your authority in executing, and by your example in observing them.

"The almost unprecedented temper and unanimity with which you have carried on the public business, your unshaken fidelity to the king, your inviolable attachment to the present happy constitution, and your just indignation of the attempts lately made to subvert it, will advantageously distinguish this session in the journals of parliament; and the concurrent zeal and active loyalty, of all his majesty's Protestant subjects of all denominations, throughout this kingdom, prove at once how sensible and how deserving they are of his care and protection. Even those deluded people, who scarcely acknowledge his government, seem, by their conduct, tacitly to have confessed the advantages they enjoy under it. At my return to his majesty's presence, I shall not fail most faithfully to report these truths; since the most faithful will be, at the same time, the most favourable representation.

" The rebellion, which rather diſturbed than endangered the king's government, has been defeated, though not yet totally ſuppreſſed: but as thoſe flagitious parricides, who were abandoned enough to avow, and deſperate enough to engage in the cauſe of popery and tyranny have already been repulſed and purſued by the valour of his royal highneſs the Duke, there is the ſtrongeſt room to believe, that he will ſoon complete the work which he has ſo glorioufly begun, and reſtore the tranquility of the kingdom. This attempt therefore to ſhake his majeſty's throne, will ſerve to eſtabliſh it the more firmly; ſince all Europe muſt now know the unanimous zeal and affection of his ſubjects for the defence and ſupport of his perſon and government; and thoſe hopes are at laſt extinguiſhed with which the Pretender has ſo long flattered, and, as it now appears, at laſt deceived himſelf. Even the powers, who encouraged him to the attempt muſt convince him, that he has now been, what however will be, only the occaſional tool of their politicks, not the real object of their care.

" *Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,*

" I have the king's commands to thank you, in his name, for the unanimity and diſpatch with which you have granted the neceſſary ſupplies for the ſupport of the eſtabliſhment. You may depend upon their being applied with the utmoſt exactneſs and frugality.

" I muſt not omit my own acknowledgments for the particular confidence you have placed in me, by leaving to my care and management the great ſum that you voluntarily voted for national arms, and for fortifying the harbour of Cork. The conſiderable ſaving which will appear upon thoſe two articles, as well in the intereſt upon the loan, as in the application of the principal, will, I hope, prove that I have been truly ſenſible of the truſt repoſed in me.

" The aſſiſtance which you have given to the proteſtant charter-ſchools is a moſt prudent, as well as

most compassionate charity; and I do very earnestly recommend to your constant protection and encouragement that excellent institution by which such a considerable number of unhappy children are annually rescued from the misery that always, and the guilt that commonly, accompanies uninstructed poverty and idleness.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"Though Great Britain has, in the course of this century, been often molested by insurrections at home and invasions from abroad, this kingdom has happily, and deservedly, enjoyed that uninterrupted tranquility which trade and manufactures, arts and sciences, require for their improvement and perfection. Nature too has been peculiarly favourable to this country, whose temperate climate and fruitful soil so invite, and would reward care and industry. Let me, therefore, most seriously recommend to you, in your private as well as in your public capacities, the utmost attention to those important objects, which at once enrich, strengthen, and adorn a nation. They will flourish, where they are cultivated; and they are always best cultivated by the indulgence, the encouragement, and above all by the example of persons of superior rank.

"I cannot conclude without repeating my heartiest thanks to you for your kind addresses, in which you express your approbation of my conduct. My duty to the king, who wishes the interest and happiness of all his subjects, called for my utmost endeavours to promote yours; and my inclinations conspired with my duty. These sentiments shall, I assure you, be the only motives of all my actions, of which your interest must consequently be the only object."

Immediately after closing the session, the earl of Chesterfield set out for London, where he arrived the 13th of April; soon after which he sent his son abroad, as he had intimated in his last letter, and went to Bath

himſelf for the benefit of his health. His letters to his dear boy grew now more frequent and important; but as they ſoon met with a temporary interruption, I ſhall purſue the ſame method, which I did with regard to thoſe from Dublin, though they have certainly a more intimate relation to the general ſyſtem. That relation however is not ſufficiently intimate to entitle them to be conſidered as a part of it: I ſhall therefore retain the dates and other particulars illuſtrative of his lordſhip's life.

Bath, Sept. 29, O. S. 1746.

DEAR BOY,

"I received by the laſt mail your letter of the 23*d* N. S. from Heidelberg, and am very well pleaſed to find that you inform yourſelf of the particulars of ſeveral places you go through. You do mighty right to ſee the curioſities in thoſe ſeveral places; ſuch as the golden *Bull* at Frankford, the *Tun* at Heidelberg, *&c.* Other travellers ſee them and talk of them, it is very proper to ſee them too; but remember, that ſeeing is the leaſt material object of travelling; hearing and knowing are the eſſential points. Therefore pray let your enquiries be chiefly directed to the knowledge of the conſtitution and particular cuſtoms of the places where you either reſide at, or paſs through: who they belong to, by what right and tenure, and ſince when; in whom the ſupreme authority is lodged; and by what magiſtrates, and in what manner, the civil and the criminal juſtice is adminiſtered. It is likewiſe neceſſary to get as much acquaintance as you can, in order to obſerve the characters and manners of the people; for, though human nature is in truth the ſame through the whole human ſpecies, yet it is ſo differently modified and varied, by education, habit, and different cuſtoms, that one ſhould, upon a ſlight and ſuperficial obſervation, almoſt think it different.

"As

" As I have never been in Switzerland myself, I must desire you to inform me, now and then, of the constitution of that country. As for instance; do the Thirteen cantons, jointly and collectively, form one government, where the supreme authority is lodged; or is each canton sovereign in itself, and under no tie or constitutional obligation of acting in common concert with the other Cantons? Can any one Canton make war or alliances with a foreign power, without the consent of the other twelve, or at least a majority of them? Can one Canton declare war to another? If every Canton is sovereign and independent in itself, in whom is the supreme power of that Canton lodged? Is it in one man, or in a certain number of men? If in one man, what is he called? If in a number what are they called; senate, council, or what? I do not suppose that you can yet know these things yourself; but a very little inquiry, of those who do, will enable you to answer me these questions in your next.

" You see, I am sure, the necessity of knowing these things thoroughly, and, consequently the necessity of conversing much with the people of the country, who alone can inform you rightly; whereas most of the English, who travel, converse only with each other, and consequently know no more, when they return to England, than they did when they left it. This proceeds from a *mauvaise honte*, which makes them ashamed of going into company; and frequently too from a want of the necessary language (French) to enable them to bear their part in it. As for the *mauvaise honte*, I hope you are above it. Your figure is like other people's; I suppose you will take care that your dress shall be so too, and to avoid any singularity. What then should you be ashamed of; and why not go into a mixed company, with as much ease, and as little concern as you would go into your own room? Vice and ignorance are the only things I know, which one ought to be ashamed of: keep but clear of them, and you may go any where without fear or concern." This

This is an excellent advice, and the obſervations that follow are worthy of it.

" I have known ſome people, who, from feeling the pain and inconveniencies of this *mauvaiſe honte*, have ruſhed into the other extreme, and turned impudent; as cowards ſometimes grow deſperate from the exceſs of danger: but this too is carefully to be avoided; there being nothing more generally ſhocking than impudence. The medium, between theſe two extremes, marks out the well-bred man; he feels himſelf free and eaſy in all companies; is modeſt without being baſhful, and ſteady without being impudent: if he is a ſtranger, he obſerves, with care, the manners and ways of the people the moſt eſteemed of that place, and conforms to them with complaiſance. Inſtead of finding fault with the cuſtoms of that place, and telling the people that the Engliſh ones are a thouſand times better, (as my countrymen are very apt to do) he commends their table, their dreſs, their houſes, and their manners, a little more, it may be, than he really thinks they deſerve. But this degree of complaiſance is neither criminal nor abject; and is but a ſmall price to pay for the good-will and affection of the people you converſe with. As the generality of people are weak enough to be pleaſed with theſe little things, thoſe who refuſe to pleaſe them, ſo cheap, are, in my mind, weaker than they.

" This letter is inſenſibly grown too long; but, as I always flatter myſelf that my experience may be of ſome uſe to your youth and inexperience, I throw out, as it occurs to me, and ſhall continue to do ſo, every thing that I think may be of the leaſt advantage to you in this important and deciſive period of your life. God preſerve you!

" P. S. I am much better, and ſhall leave this place ſoon."

The

The following letter altogether is a maſterpiece: and what is remarkable, his lordſhip's name is formally affixed to it in the late publication, and not to any of the reſt.

Bath, Oct. the 4th, O. S. 1746.

"DEAR BOY,

"Though I employ ſo much of my time in writing to you, I confeſs, I have often my doubts, whether it is to any purpoſe. I know how unwelcome advice generally is; I know that thoſe who want it moſt, like it and follow it leaſt; and I know, too, that the advice of parents, more particularly, is aſcribed to the moroſeneſs, the imperiouſneſs, or the garrulity of old-age. But then, on the other hand, I flatter myſelf, that as your own reaſon, (though too young as yet to ſuggeſt much to you of itſelf) is however, ſtrong enough to enable you, both to judge of, and receive plain truths: I flatter myſelf (I ſay) that your own reaſon, young as it is, muſt tell you, that I can have no intereſt but yours in the advice I give you; and that, conſequently, you will at leaſt weigh and conſider it well: in which caſe, ſome of it will, I hope, have its effect. Do not think that I mean to dictate as a parent; I only mean to adviſe as a friend, and an indulgent one too: and do not apprehend that I mean to check your pleaſures; of which, on the contrary, I only deſire to be the guide, not the cenſor. Let my experience ſupply your want of it, and clear your way, in the progreſs of your youth, of thoſe thorns and briars, which ſcratched and diſfigured me in the courſe of mine. I do not, therefore, ſo much as hint to you, how abſolutely dependent you are upon me; that you neither have nor can have a ſhilling in the world but from me; and that, as I have no womaniſh weakneſs for your perſon, your merit muſt, and will, be the only meaſure of my kindneſs. I ſay, I do not hint theſe things to you, becauſe I am con-

vinced that you will act right, upon more noble and generous principles: I mean, for the ſake of doing right, and out of affection and gratitude to me.

"I have ſo often recommended to you, attention and application to whatever you learn, that I do not mention them now as duties; but I point them out to you, as conducive, nay, abſolutely neceſſary to your pleaſures; for can there be a greater pleaſure, than to be univerſally allowed to excel thoſe of one's own age and manner of life? And, conſequently, can there be any thing more mortifying than to be excelled by them? In this latter caſe, your ſhame and regret muſt be greater than any body's, becauſe every body knows the uncommon care which has been taken of your education, and the opportunities you have had of knowing more than others of your age. I do not confine the application which I recommend, ſingly to the view and emulation of excelling others (though that is a very ſenſible pleaſure and a very warrantable pride;) but I mean likewiſe to excel in the thing itſelf: for, in my mind, one may as well not know a thing at all, as know it but imperfectly. To know a little of any thing, gives neither ſatisfaction nor credit; but often brings diſgrace or ridicule.

Mr. Pope ſays very truly.

"A little knowledge is a dang'rous thing;
"Drink deep, or taſte not the Caſtalian ſpring."

And what is called a *ſmattering* of every thing, infallibly conſtitutes a coxcomb. I have often, of late, reflected what an unhappy man I muſt now have been, if I had not acquired in my youth ſome fund and taſte of learning. What could I have done with myſelf, at this age, without them? I muſt, as many ignorant people do, have deſtroyed my health and faculties by ſotting away the evenings; or by waſting them frivolouſly in the tattle of women's company, muſt have expoſed myſelf to the ridicule and contempt of thoſe very women; or, laſtly, I muſt have hanged myſelf, as a man once did, for wearineſs of putting

ting on and pulling off his shoes and stockings every day. My books, and only my books, are now left me, and I daily find what Cicero says of learning to be true: *Hæc studia* (says he) *adolescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium, ac solatium præbent, delectant domi, impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur.*

"I do not mean, by this, to exclude conversation out of the pleasures of an advanced age; on the contrary, it is a very great and very rational pleasure, at all ages; but the conversation of the ignorant is no conversation, and gives even them no pleasure: they tire of their own sterility, and have not matter enough to furnish them with words to keep up a conversation.

"Let me, therefore, most earnestly recommend to you, to hoard up while you can, a great stock of knowledge; for though, during the dissipation of your youth, you may not have occasion to spend much of it; yet, you may depend upon it, that a time will come, when you will want it to maintain you. Public granaries are filled in plentiful years; not that it is known that the next, or the second, or the third year will prove a scarce one; but because it is known, that, sooner or later, such a year will come, in which the grain will be wanted.

"I will say no more to you upon this subject; you have Mr. Harte with you to enforce it, you have reason to assent to the truth of it; so that, in short, you have Moses and the Prophets; if you will not believe them, neither will you believe, though one rose from the dead."

Do not imagine that the knowledge, which I so much recommend to you, is confined to books, pleasing, useful, and necessary as that knowledge is: — but I comprehend in it the great knowledge of the world, still more necessary than that of books. In truth, they assist one another reciprocally; and no man will have either perfectly, who has not both.

The knowledge of the world is only to be acquired in the world, and not in a cloſet. Books alone will never teach it you; but they will ſuggeſt many things to your obſervation, which might otherwiſe eſcape you; and your own obſervations upon mankind, when compared with thoſe which you will find in books, will help you to fix the true point.

"To know mankind well, requires full as much attention and application as to know books, and, it may be, more ſagacity and diſcernment. I am, at this time, acquainted with many elderly people, who have all paſſed their whole lives in the great world, but with ſuch levity and inattention, that they know no more of it now, than they did at fifteen. Do not flatter yourſelf, therefore, with the thoughts that you can acquire this knowledge in the frivolous chit-chat of idle companies: no, you muſt go much deeper than that. You muſt look into people, as well as at them. Moſt people are born with all the paſſions, to a certain degree; but almoſt every man has one prevailing one, to which the others are ſubordinate. Search every one for that ruling paſſion: pry into the receſſes of his heart, and obſerve the different workings of the ſame paſſion in different people. And when you have found out the prevailing paſſion of any man, remember never to truſt him, where that paſſion is concerned. Work upon him by it, if you pleaſe; but be upon your guard yourſelf againſt it, whatever profeſſions he may make you.

"I would deſire you to read this letter twice over, but that I much doubt whether you will read once to the end of it. I will trouble you no longer now; but we will have more upon this ſubject hereafter. Adieu.

CHESTERFIELD.

"I have this moment received your letter from Schaffhauſen: in the date of it you forgot the month."

How attentive was this great man to the all-accompliſhing of his dear boy!

Bath,

Bath, Oct. 9, O. S. 1746.

"DEAR BOY,

"Your distresses in your journey from Heidelberg to Schaffhausen, your lying upon straw, your black bread, and your broken *Berline*, are proper seasonings for the greater fatigues and distresses which you must expect in the course of your travels; and, if one had a mind to moralize, one might call them the samples of the accidents, rubs, and difficulties, which every man meets with in his journey through life. In this journey, the understanding is the *voiture* that must carry you through; and in proportion as that is stronger or weaker, more or less in repair, your journey will be better or worse; though at best, you will now and then find some bad roads, and some bad inns. Take care, therefore, to keep that necessary *voiture* in perfect and good repair; examine, improve, and strengthen it every day: it is in the power, and ought to be the care of every man to do it; he that neglects it, deserves to feel, and certainly will feel, the fatal effects of that negligence.

"*A propos*, of negligence; I must say something to you upon that subject. You know I have often told you, that my affection for you was not a weak, womanish one; and far from blinding me, it makes me but more quick-sighted, as to your faults: those it is not only my right, but my duty, to tell you of; and it is your duty and your interest to correct them. In the strict scrutiny which I have made into you, I have (thank God) hitherto not discovered any vice of the heart, or any peculiar weakness of the head: but I have discovered laziness, and inattention, and indifference; faults which are only pardonable in old men, who, in the decline of life, when health and spirits fail, have a kind of claim to that sort of tranquility. But a young man should be ambitious to shine, and excel; alert, active, and indefatigable in the means of doing it; and, like Cæsar, *Nil actum reputans, si quid*

quid ſupereſſet agendum. You ſeem to want that *vivida vis animi*, which ſpurs and excites moſt young men to pleaſe, to ſhine, to excel. Without the deſire and the pains neceſſary to be conſiderable, depend upon it, you never can be ſo; as, without the deſire and attention neceſſary to pleaſe, you never can pleaſe. *Nullum numen abeſt, ſi ſit prudentia*, is unqueſtionably true, with regard to every thing except poetry; and I am very ſure that any man of common underſtanding may, by proper culture, care, attention, and labour, make himſelf whatever he pleaſes, except a good poet."

Why his lordſhip ſhould have excepted poetry, ſeems a little odd; particularly as he has elſewhere ſaid, that the meaſure and harmony of verſification may be acquired: and it certainly may, by any man who has got a good ear. What then ſhould hinder any man of a good ear and a warm imagination, from making himſelf a poet? and without both he will make but a poor orator, notwithſtanding the adage *naſcitur poeta, fit orator*. An implicit veneration for the authority of the ancients could only have led his lordſhip into ſuch a vulgar error. What follows, however, in ſome meaſure forms his apology; for it appears, that the qualifications which he demanded of his ſon, required induſtry, not genius.

"Your deſtination,"—continues he, "is the great and buſy world; your immediate object is the affairs, the intereſts, and the hiſtory, the conſtitutions, the cuſtoms, and the manners of the ſeveral parts of Europe. In this, any man of common ſenſe may, by common application, be ſure to excel. Ancient and modern hiſtory are, by attention, eaſily attainable. Geography and chronology the ſame; none of them requiring any uncommon ſhare of genius or invention. Speaking and writing clearly, correctly, and with eaſe and grace, are certainly to be acquired, by reading the beſt authors with care, and by attention to the beſt living models. Theſe are the qualifications

more

more particularly necessary for you, in your department, which you may be possessed of, if you please; and which, I tell you fairly, I shall be very angry at you, if you are not; because, as you have the means in your hands, it will be your own fault only.

"If care and application are necessary to the acquiring of those qualifications, without which you can never be considerable, nor make a figure in the world; they are not less necessary with regard to the lesser accomplishments, which are requisite to make you agreeable and pleasing to society. In truth, whatever is worth doing at all, is worth doing well; and nothing can be done well without attention: I therefore carry the necessity of attention down to the lowest things, even to dancing and dress. Custom has made dancing sometimes necessary for a young man; therefore mind it while you learn it, that you may learn to do it well, and not be ridiculous, though in a ridiculous act. Dress is of the same nature; you must dress: therefore attend to it; not in order to rival or excel a fop in it, but in order to avoid singularity, and consequently ridicule. Take great care always to be dressed like the reasonable people of your own age, in the place where you are; whose dress is never spoken of one way or another, as either too negligent, or too much studied.

"What is commonly called an absent man, is commonly either a very weak, or a very affected man; but be he which he will, he is, I am sure, a very disagreeable man in company. He fails in all the common offices of civility; he seems not to know those people to-day, with whom yesterday he appeared to live in intimacy. He takes no part in the general conversation; but on the contrary, breaks into it from time to time, with some start of his own, as if he waked from a dream. This (as I said before) is a sure indication, either of a mind so weak that it is not able to bear above one object at a time; or so affected, that it would be supposed to be wholly engrossed by, and affected to, some very great and important objects.

Sir

Sir Iſaac Newton, Mr. Locke, and, (it may be) five or ſix more, ſince the creation of the world, may have had a right to abſence, from that intenſe thought which the things they were inveſtigating required. But if a young man, and a man of the world, who has no ſuch avocations to plead, will claim and exerciſe that right of abſence in company, his pretended right ſhould, in my mind, be turned into an involuntary abſence, by his perpetual excluſion out of company.

"However frivolous a company may be, ſtill, while you are among them, do not ſhew them, by your inattention, that you think them ſo; but rather take their tone, and conform in ſome degree to their weakneſs, inſtead of manifeſting your contempt for them. There is nothing that people bear more impatiently, or forgive leſs, than contempt; and an injury is much ſooner forgotten than an inſult. If therefore you would rather pleaſe than offend, rather be well than ill ſpoken of, rather be loved than hated; remember to have that conſtant attention about you, which flatters every man's little vanity; and the want of which, by mortifying his pride, never fails to excite his reſentment, or at leaſt his ill-will.

"My long and frequent letters, which I ſend you in great doubt of their ſucceſs, put me in mind of certain papers, which you have, very lately, and formerly, ſent up to kites, along the ſtring, which we called meſſengers; ſome of them the wind uſed to blow away, others were torn by the ſtring, and but few of them got up and ſtuck to the kite. But I will content myſelf now, as I did then, if ſome of my preſent meſſengers do but ſtick to you. Adieu!"

The earl of Cheſterfield was appointed one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State, ſoon after the date of the foregoing letter: the correſpondence was, therefore, in ſome meaſure, interrupted

for a time. He hints at that interruption in a letter to his ſon, dated the 2d of December, 1746.

"I have not, in my preſent ſituation, time to write to you, either ſo much or ſo often as I uſed, while I was in a place of much more leiſure and profit: but my affection for you muſt not be judged of by the number of my letters; and, though the one leſſens, the other, I aſſure you, does not."

But notwithſtanding what the earl of Cheſterfield here ſays of the want of leiſure, he continued to write pretty frequently to his dear boy, even while Secretary; and I ſhall continue, as formerly, to give ſuch letters written during that time, as can throw any light upon his lordſhip's life or character.

London, Dec. 9th, O. S. 1746.

"DEAR BOY,

"Though I have very little time, and though I write by this poſt to Mr. Harte, [his ſon's governor] yet I cannot ſend a packet to Lauſanne without a word or two to yourſelf. I thank you for your letter of congratulation which you wrote me, notwithſtanding the pain it gave you. The accident that cauſed the pain, was, I preſume, owing to that degree of giddineſs which I have ſometimes taken the liberty to ſpeak to you of. The poſt I am now in, though the object of moſt people's views and deſires, was in ſome degree inflicted upon me; and a certain concurrence of circumſtances obliged me to engage in it. But I feel that it requires more ſtrength of body and mind than I have, to go through with it: were you three or four years older, you ſhould ſhare in my trouble, and I would have taken you into my office; but I hope you will employ thoſe three or four years ſo well, as to make yourſelf capable of being of uſe to me, if I ſhould continue in it ſo long. The reading, writing, and ſpeaking the modern languages

languages correctly; the knowledge of the laws of nations, and the particular conſtitution of the empire; of hiſtory, geography, and chronology, are abſolutely neceſſary to this buſineſs, for which I have always intended you. With theſe qualifications, you may very poſſibly be my ſucceſſor, though not my immediate one.

"I hope you employ your whole time, which few people do; and that you put every moment to profit of ſome kind or other. I call company, walking, riding, *&c.* employing one's time, and, upon proper occaſions, very uſefully; but what I cannot forgive, in any body, is ſauntering, and doing nothing at all, with a thing ſo precious as time, and ſo irrecoverable when loſt.

"Are you acquainted with any ladies at Lauſanne; and do you behave yourſelf with politeneſs enough to make them deſire your company?

"I muſt finiſh: God bleſs you!"

The next letter is in French: but as I ſuppoſe a tranſlation may ſatisfy moſt readers, I ſhall give that only. The ſubject is *pleaſure*.

London, Feb. 24th, O. S. 1747.

"SIR,

"In order that we may, reciprocally, keep up our French, which, for want of practice, we might forget, you will permit me to have the honour of aſſuring you of my reſpects, in that language; and be ſo good as to anſwer me alſo in the ſame. Not that I am apprehenſive of your forgetting to ſpeak French; ſince it is probable, that two-thirds of your daily prattle is in that language; but becauſe, if you leave off writing French, you may, perhaps, neglect that grammatical purity, and accurate orthography, which, in other languages, you excel in; and, even in French, it is better to write well than ill. It is a language at leaſt, very proper for

ſprightly

ſprightly and gay ſubjects; ſo that I ſhall confine myſelf to theſe, and reſerve thoſe which are ſerious for Engliſh. I ſhall not, therefore, mention to you, at preſent, your ſtudy of the law of nature or nations, of the rights of communities or individuals, but rather diſcuſs the ſubject of your amuſements and pleaſures; for to ſay the truth, one muſt have ſome. May I be permitted to inquire of what nature yours are? Do they conſiſt in a little ſocial play, in good company? are they little agreeable ſuppers, at which chearfulneſs and decency are united? or do you pay court to ſome fair-one, who requires ſuch attentions as may be of uſe in contributing to poliſh you? Make me your confidant upon this ſubject; you ſhall not find a ſevere cenſor: on the contrary, I wiſh to obtain the employment of miniſter to your pleaſures: I will point them out, and even contribute to them.

"Many young people adopt pleaſures, for which they have not the leaſt taſte, only becauſe they are called by that name. They often miſtake ſo totally, as to imagine, that debauchery is pleaſure. You muſt allow that drunkenneſs, which is equally deſtructive to body and mind, is a fine pleaſure. High gaming, that draws you into a thouſand ſcrapes, leaves you pennyleſs, and gives you the air and manners of an outrageous madman, is another moſt exquiſite pleaſure; is it not? As to debauching with women, indeed, the conſequences are only the loſs of one's noſe, a broken conſtitution, and now and then a few thruſts with a ſword: trifles theſe! This, however, is the catalogue of pleaſures of moſt young people; who never reaſon for themſelves, but adopt, indiſcriminately, what others chuſe to call by the ſeducing name of pleaſure. I am thoroughly perſuaded you will not fall into ſuch errors; and that, in the choice of your amuſements, you will be directed by reaſon and a diſcerning taſte.

"Elegant

" Elegant company; the pleaſures of the table, within proper bounds; moderate play, which amuſes without ruffling; and the gay and ſprightly converſations of women of wit and faſhion, are the true pleaſures of a gentleman; pleaſures which cauſe neither ſickneſs, ſhame, nor repentance. Whatever exceeds theſe becomes low vice, brutal paſſion, debauchery, and inſanity of mind; all which, far from giving ſatisfaction, bring on diſhonour and diſgrace. Adieu."

In the following letter, among many others, his lordſhip diſcovers a peculiar partiality to French manners: and they undoubtedly have their advantages; particularly for a man deſigned to act in a public character, as they make him equally eaſy and recollected upon all occaſions. But an utter want of the ſenſe of ſhame, and ſheepiſh baſhfulneſs, are almoſt equally hurtful to the owner: the one prevents a man from diſplaying himſelf to advantage, the other makes all his eloquence and addreſs ineffectual; and between theſe two extremes generally lies the difference between an Engliſhman and a Frenchman. I ſhould therefore think that a well-bred Engliſhman (a character by no means ſcarce at preſent, whatever it might be when his lordſhip wrote) has as good a chance to touch the perfection of human nature as a Frenchman, if not a better; for a certain degree of diffidence of ourſelves, or an impreſſion of reſpect for thoſe we addreſs, is eſſential to perſuade. It is highly flattering to human pride, as well as neceſſary to convince others of our ſincerity; whereas the perfect eaſe of perfect French politeneſs arms our pride even againſt eloquence itſelf; and Cicero, with ſuch an air, has ſpoke in vain: nobody would have believed him in earneſt. But that accompliſhed Roman was ſo diſtant from French unconcern, that he never aſcended the roſtrum, he tells us, without trembling, [illegible]

he certainly never did without perſuading; and the old officer, who aſking a favour of Lewis XIV. and not being able to conclude his diſcourſe, ſaid, "Sir, I hope you will believe I do not tremble thus "before your enemies," had as little difficulty to obtain his requeſt, as if he had been perfectly *unconcerned* in the *preſence* of *majeſty*. — This much I thought neceſſary to ſay in vindication of Engliſh manners; or, at leaſt to ſhew, that a ſervile imitation of French manners would not be attended with better conſequences, even to the MAN of the WORLD.

London, March 6th, O. S. 1747.

"DEAR BOY,

"Whatever you do, will always affect me, very ſenſibly, one way or another; and I am now moſt agreeably affected, by two letters, which I have lately ſeen from Lauſanne, upon your ſubject; the one was from Madame St. Germain, the other from Monſieur Pampigny: they both give ſo good an account of you, that I thought myſelf obliged, in juſtice both to them and to you, to let you know it. Thoſe who deſerve a good character, ought to have the ſatisfaction of knowing that they have it, both as a reward and as an encouragement. They write that you are not only *décrotté*, but tolerably well-bred; and that the Engliſh cruſt of aukward baſhfulneſs, ſhyneſs, and roughneſs, (of which, by the bye, you had your ſhare) is pretty well rubbed off. I am moſt heartily glad of it; for, as I have often told you, thoſe leſſer talents, of an engaging, inſinuating manner, and eaſy good-breeding, a genteel behaviour and addreſs, are of infinitely more advantage, than they are generally thought to be, eſpecially here in England.

"Virtue and learning, like gold, have their intrinſic value; but if they are not poliſhed, they certainly loſe a great deal of their luſtre: and even poliſhed

poliſhed braſs will paſs upon more people than rough gold. What a number of ſins does the chearful, eaſy good-breeding of the French frequently cover? Many of them want common ſenſe, many more common learning; but, in general, they make up ſo much, by their manner, for thoſe defects, that, frequently, they paſs undiſcovered.

"I have often ſaid, and do think, that a Frenchman, who, with a fund of virtue, learning, and good ſenſe, has the manners and good-breeding of his country, is the perfection of human nature. This perfection you may, if you pleaſe, and I hope you will, arrive at. You know what virtue is: you may have it if you will; it is in every man's power; and miſerable is the man who has it not. Good ſenſe, God has given you. Learning, you already poſſeſs enough of, to have in a reaſonable time, all that a man need have. With this, you are thrown out early into the world, where it will be your own fault if you do not acquire all the other accompliſhments neceſſary to complete and adorn your character. You will do well to make your compliments to Madame St. Germain and Monſieur Pampigny; and tell them, how ſenſible you are of their partiality to you, in the advantageous teſtimonies which, you are informed, they have given of you here.

"Adieu! Continue to deſerve ſuch teſtimonies; and then you will not only deſerve, but enjoy, my trueſt affection."

The ſubject of pleaſure is here again reſumed.

London, March 27th, O. S. 1747.

"DEAR BOY,

"Pleaſure is the rock which moſt young people ſplit upon; they launch out with crowded ſails in queſt of it, but without a compaſs to direct their courſe, or reaſon ſufficient to ſteer the veſſel; for want

want of which, pain and ſhame, inſtead of pleaſure, are the returns of their voyage. Do not think that I mean to ſnarl at pleaſure, like a Stoic, or to preach againſt it like a parſon; no, I mean to point it out, and recommend it to you, like an Epicurean: I wiſh you a great deal; and my only view is to hinder you from miſtaking it.

"The character which moſt young men firſt aim at, is that of a man of pleaſure; but they generally take it upon truſt; and inſtead of conſulting their own taſte and inclinations, they blindly adopt whatever thoſe, with whom they chiefly converſe, are pleaſed to call by the name of pleaſure; and a *man of pleaſure*, in the vulgar acceptation of that phraſe, means only, a beaſtly drunkard, an abandoned whoremaſter, and a profligate ſwearer and curſer. As it may be of uſe to you, I am not unwilling, though at the ſame time aſhamed, to own, that the vices of my youth proceeded much more from my ſilly reſolution of being, what I heard called a man of pleaſure, than from my own inclinations. I always naturally hated drinking; and yet I have often drunk, with diſguſt at the time, attended by great ſickneſs the next day, only becauſe I then conſidered drinking as a neceſſary qualification for a fine gentleman, and a man of pleaſure.

"The ſame as to gaming. I did not want money, and conſequently had no occaſion to play for it; but I thought play another ingredient in the compoſition of a man of pleaſure, and accordingly plunged into it without deſire, at firſt; ſacrificed thouſand real pleaſures to it; and made myſelf fully uneaſy by it, for thirty the beſt years of my life.

"I was even abſurd enough, for a little while, to ſwear, by way of adorning and completing the fine character which I affected; but this folly I ſoon laid aſide, upon finding both the guilt and the indecency of it.

"Thus

" Thus ſeduced by faſhion, and blindly adopting nominal pleaſures, I loſt real ones; and my fortune impaired, and my conſtitution ſhattered, are, I confeſs, the juſt puniſhment of my errors.

" Take warning then by them; chuſe your pleaſures for yourſelf, and do not let them be impoſed upon you. Follow nature, and not faſhion: weigh the preſent enjoyment of your pleaſures, againſt the neceſſary conſequences of them, and then let your own common ſenſe determine your choice.

" Were I to begin the world again, with the experience which I now have of it, I would lead a life of real, not imaginary pleaſure. I would enjoy the pleaſures of the table, and of wine; but ſtop ſhort of the pains inſeparably annexed to an exceſs in either. I would not, at twenty years, be a preaching miſſionary of abſtemiouſneſs and ſobriety; and I ſhould let others do as they would, without formally and ſententiouſly rebuking them for it; but I would be moſt firmly reſolved, not to deſtroy my own faculties and conſtitution, in complaiſance to thoſe who have no regard to their own. I would play to give me pleaſure, but not to give me pain; that is, I would play for trifles, in mixed companies, to amuſe myſelf, and conform to cuſtom; but would take care not to venture for ſums, which, if I won, I ſhould not be the better for; but, if I loſt, would be under a difficulty to pay; and, when paid, would oblige me to retrench in ſeveral other articles. Not to mention the quarrels which deep play commonly occaſions.

" I would paſs ſome of my time in reading, and the reſt in the company of people of ſenſe and learning, and chiefly thoſe above me: and I would frequent the mixed companies of men and women of faſhion, which though often frivolous, yet they unbend and refreſh the mind, not uſeleſsly, becauſe they certainly poliſh and ſoften the manners.

" Theſe

"These would be my pleasures and amusements, if I were to live the last thirty years over again; they are rational ones; and moreover I will tell you, they are really the fashionable ones: for the others are not, in truth, the pleasures of what I call people of fashion, but of those who only call themselves so. Does good company care to have a man reeling drunk among them? Or to see another tearing his hair, and blaspheming, for having lost at play more than he is able to pay? Or a whoremaster with half a nose, and crippled by coarse and infamous debauchery? No; those who practise, and much more those who brag of them, make no part of good company; and are most unwillingly, if ever, admitted into it.

"A real man of fashion and pleasure observes decency; at least, neither borrows nor affects vices; and if he unfortunately has any, he gratifies them with choice, delicacy, and secrecy.

"I have not mentioned the pleasures of the mind, (which are the solid and permanent ones) because they do not come under the head of what people commonly call pleasures; which they seem to confine to the senses. The pleasure of virtue, of charity, and of learning, is true and lasting pleasure; which I hope you will be well and long acquainted with. Adieu."

The subject is continued in the following letter.

London, April 14th, O. S. 1747.

"DEAR BOY,

"If you feel half the pleasure from the consciousness of doing well, that I do from the informations I have lately received in your favour from Mr. Harte, I shall have little occasion to exhort or admonish you, any more, to do what your own satisfaction and self-love will sufficiently prompt you to. Mr. Harte tells me that you attend, that you apply to your studies; and that, beginning to understand,

you

you begin to taſte them. This pleaſure will increaſe, and keep pace with your attention; ſo that the balance will be greatly to your advantage. You may remember, that I have always earneſtly recommended to you, to do what you are about, be that what it will; and to do nothing elſe at the ſame time. Do not imagine, that I mean, by this, that you ſhould attend to, and plod at your book all day long; far from it: I mean that you ſhould have your pleaſures too; and that you ſhould attend to them, for the time, as much as to your ſtudies; and, if you do not attend equally to both, you will neither have improvement or ſatisfaction from either.

"A man is fit for neither buſineſs nor pleaſure, who either cannot or does not, command and direct his attention to the preſent object, and, in ſome degree, baniſh, for that time, all other objects from his thoughts. If at a ball, a ſupper, or a party of pleaſure, a man were to be ſolving, in his own mind, a problem in Euclid, he would be a very bad companion, and make a poor figure in that company; or if, in ſtudying a problem in his cloſet, he were to think of a minuet, I am apt to believe that he would make a very poor mathematician.

"There is time enough for every thing, in the courſe of the day, if you do but one thing at once; but there is not time enough in the year if you will do two things at a time. The penſionary de Witt, who was torn to pieces in the year 1672, did the whole buſineſs of the Republic, yet had time left to go to aſſemblies in the evening, and ſup in company. Being aſked, how he could poſſibly find time to go through ſo much buſineſs, and yet amuſe himſelf in the evenings as he did? he anſwered, There was nothing ſo eaſy; for that it was only doing one thing at a time, and never putting off any thing till to-morrow, that could be done to-day.

"Thi

" This steady and undissipated attention to one object, is a sure mark of a superior genius; as hurry, bustle, and agitation, are the never-failing symptoms of a weak and frivolous mind. When you read Horace, attend to the justness of his thoughts, the happiness of his diction, and the beauty of his poetry; and do not think of Puffendorf *de Homine et Cive:* and when you are reading Puffendorf, do not think of Madame de St. Germain; nor of Puffendorf when you are talking to Madame de St. Germain."

It will be unnecessary to make any apology for inserting the following letter; for, though the precepts in it are few, it contains the names of several collections of letters, which will do more to form a perfect epistolary stile, than a volume on the subject of letter-writing: and his lordship's recommendation will certainly be of weight.

London, July 20th, O. S. 1747.

" DEAR BOY,

" In your mamma's letter, which goes here enclosed, you will find one from my sister, to thank you for the Arquebusade water which you sent her, and which she takes very kindly. She would not shew me her letter to you; but told me, that it contained good wishes and good advice; and, as I know she will shew your letter in answer to her's, I send you here enclosed the draught of the letter which I would have you write to her. I hope you will not be offended at my offering you my assistance upon this occasion: because, I presume, that as yet you are not much used to write to ladies.

" *A propos* of letter-writing; the best models that you can form yourself upon, are Cicero, Cardinal d'Ossat, Madame Sevigné, and Comte Bussy Rabutin. Cicero's Epistles to Atticus, and to his familiar friends, are the best examples that you can

imitate, in the friendly and familiar ſtile. The ſimplicity and clearneſs of Cardinal d'Oſſat's letters, ſhew how letters of buſineſs ought to be written: no affected turns, no attempt at wit, obſcure or perplex his matter; which is always plainly and clearly ſtated, as buſineſs always ſhould be. For gay and amuſing letters, for *enjouëment* and *badinage*, there are none that equal Comte Buſſy's and Madame Sevigne's. They are ſo natural, that they ſeem to be the extempore converſations of two people of wit, rather than letters; which are commonly ſtudied, though they ought not to be ſo. I would adviſe you to let thoſe books be part of your itinerant library; they will both amuſe and inform you.

"I have not time to add any more now; ſo good night."

The following letter is upon lying; and from the deſcription of a vain liar, with which it concludes, it appears that his lordſhip would have excelled in comedy: for there is a particularity and truth in it, which is rarely to be found, even in taſte and obſervation.

London, Sept. 21ſt, O. S. 1747.

"DEAR BOY,

"I do not wonder that you were ſurpriſed at the credulity and ſuperſtition of the Papiſts at Einſiedlen, and at their abſurd ſtories of their chapel. But remember, at the ſame time, that errors and miſtakes, however groſs, in matters of opinion, if they are ſincere, are to be pitied; but not puniſhed nor laughed at. The blindneſs of the underſtanding is as much to be pitied, as the blindneſs of the eyes; and there is neither jeſt nor guilt in a man's loſing his way in either caſe. Charity bids us ſet him right if we can, by arguments and perſuaſions; but charity, at the ſame time, forbids, either to puniſh or ridicule his misfortune. Every man's reaſon is, and muſt be his guide; and I may as well

expect,

expect, that every man ſhould be of my ſize and complexion, as that he ſhould reaſon juſt as I do. Every man ſeeks for truth; but God only knows who has found it. It is, therefore, as unjuſt to perſecute, as it is abſurd to ridicule people for thoſe ſeveral opinions which they cannot help entertaining upon the conviction of their reaſon. It is the man who tells, or who acts a lie, that is guilty, and not he who honeſtly and ſincerely believes the lie.

"I really know nothing more criminal, more mean, and more ridiculous, than lying. It is the production either of malice, cowardice, or vanity; and generally miſſes of its aim in every one of theſe views; for lies are always detected, ſooner or later. If I tell a malicious lie, in order to affect any man's fortune or character, I may indeed injure him for ſome time; but I ſhall be ſure to be the greateſt ſufferer myſelf at laſt; for, as ſoon as ever I am detected (and detected I moſt certainly ſhall be) I am blaſted for the infamous attempt; and whatever is ſaid afterwards, to the diſadvantage of that perſon, however true, paſſes for calumny. If I lie, or equivocate, for it is the ſame thing, in order to excuſe myſelf of ſomething that I have ſaid or done, and to avoid the danger or ſhame that I apprehended from it, I diſcover, at once, my fear, as well as my falſehood; and only increaſe, inſtead of avoiding, the danger and the ſhame; I ſhow myſelf to be the loweſt and meaneſt of mankind, and am ſure to be always treated as ſuch.

"Fear, inſtead of avoiding, invites danger; for concealed cowards will inſult known ones. If one has had the misfortune to be in the wrong, there is ſomething noble in frankly owning it; it is the only way of atoning for it, and the only way of being forgiven. Equivocating, evading, ſhuffling, in order to remove a preſent danger or inconveniency, is ſomething ſo mean, and betrays ſo much fear, that

whoever practiſes them, always deſerves to be, and often will be kicked.

" There is another ſort of lies, inoffenſive enough in themſelves, but wonderfully ridiculous; I mean thoſe lies which a miſtaken vanity ſuggeſts, that defeat the very end for which they are calculated, and terminate in the humiliation and confuſion of their author, who is ſure to be detected. Theſe are chiefly narrative and hiſtorical lies, all intended to do infinite honour to their author. He is always the hero of his own romances; he has been in dangers from which nobody but himſelf ever eſcaped; he has ſeen with his own eyes, whatever other people have heard or read of: he has had more *bounes fortunes*, than ever he knew women; and has rid more miles poſt, in one day, than ever courier went in two. He is ſoon diſcovered, and as ſoon becomes the object of univerſal contempt and ridicule.—Remember then, as long as you live, that nothing but ſtrict truth can carry you through the world, with either your conſcience or your honour unwounded. It is not only your duty but your intereſt: as a proof of which, you may always obſerve, that the greateſt fools are the greateſt liars. For my own part, I judge of every man's truth by his degree of underſtanding. Adieu!"

In the following letter his lordſhip touches on that knowledge of the world, which he afterwards treats at ſo much length.

London, Oct. 2d, O. S. 1747.

" DEAR BOY,

" By your letter of the 18th paſt, N. S. I find that you are a tolerable good landſcape painter, and can preſent the ſeveral views of Switzerland to the curious. I am very glad of it, as it is a proof of ſome attention; but I hope you will be as good a portrait painter, which is a much more noble ſcience.

By

By portraits, you will easily judge, that I do not mean the outlines and the colouring of the human figure; but the inside of the heart and mind of man.

"This science requires more attention, observation, and penetration, than the other; as indeed it is infinitely more useful. Search therefore, with the greatest care, into the characters of all those with whom you converse; endeavour to discover their predominant passions, their prevailing weaknesses, their vanities, their follies, and their humours; with all the right and wrong, wise and silly springs of human actions, which make such inconsistent and whimsical beings of us rational creatures. A moderate share of penetration, with great attention, will infallibly make these necessary discoveries.

"This is the true knowledge of the world; and the world is a country which nobody ever yet knew by description; one must travel through it one's self to be acquainted with it. The scholar who, in the dust of his closet, talks or writes of the world, knows no more of it, than that orator did of war, who judiciously endeavoured to instruct Hannibal in it. Courts and camps are the only places to learn the world in. There alone all kinds of characters resort, and human nature is seen in all the various shapes and modes, which education, custom, and habit give it: whereas, in all other places, one local mode generally prevails, and produces a seeming, though not a real, sameness of character. For example, one general mode distinguishes an university, another a trading town, a third a sea-port town, and so on; whereas at a capital, where the prince or the supreme power resides, some of all these various modes are to be seen, and seen in action too, exerting their utmost skill in pursuit of their several objects.

"Human nature is the same all over the world; but its operations are so varied by education and habit, that one must see it in all its dresses, in order to be intimately acquainted with it. The passion of ambition,

bition, for inſtance, is the ſame in a courtier, a ſoldier, or an eccleſiaſtic; but, from their different educations and habits, they will take very different methods to gratify it. Civility, which is a diſpoſition to accommodate and oblige others, is eſſentially the ſame in every country; but good-breeding, as it is called, which is the manner of exerting that diſpoſition, is different in almoſt every country, and merely local; and every man of ſenſe imitates and conforms to that local good-breeding of the place which he is at.—A conformity and flexibility of manners is neceſſary in the courſe of the world; that is, with regard to all things, which are not wrong in themſelves. The *verſatile ingenium* is the moſt uſeful of all. It can turn itſelf inſtantly from one object to another, aſſuming the proper manner for each. It can be ſerious with the grave, chearful with the gay, and trifling with the frivolous. Endeavour, by all means, to acquire this talent, for it is a very great one."

The ſubject of the world is continued in this letter, with ſome very deep and judicious obſervations with regard to company and friends.

London, Oct. 9th, O. S. 1774.

"DEAR BOY,

"People of your age, have, commonly, an unguarded frankneſs about them; which makes them the eaſy prey and bubbles of the artful and the experienced: they look upon every knave, or fool, who tells them that he is their friend, to be really ſo; and pay that profeſſion of ſimulated friendſhip, with an indiſcreet and unbounded confidence, always to their loſs, often to their ruin. Beware, therefore, now that you are coming into the world, of theſe proffered friendſhips. Receive them with great civility, but with great incredulity too; and pay them with compliments, but not with confidence. Do not let your vanity, and ſelf-love, make you ſuppoſe that people

people become your friends at firſt ſight, or even upon a ſhort acquaintance. Real friendſhip is a ſlow grower; and never thrives, unleſs ingrafted upon a ſtock of known and reciprocal merit.

"There is another kind of nominal friendſhip, among young people, which is warm for the time, but, by good luck, of ſhort duration. This friendſhip is haſtily produced, by their being accidentally thrown together, and purſuing the ſame courſe of riot and debauchery. A fine friendſhip, truly! and well cemented by drunkenneſs and lewdneſs.—It ſhould rather be called a conſpiracy againſt morals and good manners, and be puniſhed as ſuch by the civil magiſtrate. However, they have the impudence, and folly, to call this confederacy, a friendſhip. They lend one another money, for bad purpoſes; they engage in quarrels, offenſive and defenſive, for their accomplices; they tell one another all they know, and often more too; when, of a ſudden, ſome accident diſperſes them, and they think no more of each other, unleſs it be to betray and laugh at their imprudent confidence.

"Remember to make a great difference between companions and friends; for a very complaiſant and agreeable companion may, and often does, prove a very improper and a very dangerous friend. People will, in a great degree, and not without reaſon, form their opinion of you, upon that which they have of your friends; and there is a Spaniſh proverb, which ſays very juſtly, *tell me who you live with, and I will tell you what you are.* One may fairly ſuppoſe, that a man, who makes a knave or a fool his friend, has ſomething very bad to do, or to conceal. But, at the ſame time that you carefully decline the friendſhip of knaves and fools, if it can be called friendſhip, there is no occaſion to make either of them your enemies, wantonly, and unprovoked; for they are numerous bodies; and I would rather chuſe a ſecure neutrality, than alliance, or war, with either

of them. You may be a declared enemy to their vices and follies, without being marked out by them as a perſonal one. Their enmity is the next dangerous thing to their friendſhip.—Have a real reſerve with almoſt every body; and have a ſeeming reſerve with almoſt nobody; for it is very diſagreeable to ſeem reſerved, and very dangerous not to be ſo. Few people find the true medium; many are ridiculouſly myſterious and reſerved upon trifles; and many imprudently communicative of all they know.

"The next thing to the choice of your friends, is the choice of your company. Endeavour, as much as you can, to keep company with people above you. There you riſe, as much as you ſink with people below you; for (as I have mentioned before) you are, whatever the company you keep is. Do not miſtake, when I ſay company above you, and think that I mean with regard to their birth; that is the leaſt conſideration: but I mean with regard to their merit, and the light in which the world conſiders them.

"There are two ſorts of good company; one, which is called the *beau monde*, and conſiſts of thoſe people who have the lead in courts, and is the gay part of life; the other conſiſts of thoſe who are diſtinguiſhed by ſome peculiar merit, or who excel in ſome particular and valuable art or ſcience. For my own part, I uſed to think myſelf in company as much above me, when I was with Mr. Addiſon and Mr. Pope, as if I had been with all the princes in Europe. What I mean by low company, which ſhould by all means be avoided, is the company of thoſe, who, abſolutely inſignificant and contemptible in themſelves, think they are honoured by being in your company, and who flatter every vice and folly you have, in order to engage you to converſe with them. The pride of being the firſt of the company, is but too common; but it is very ſilly, and very prejudicial.

prejudicial. Nothing in the world lets down a character more, than that wrong turn.

" You may poſſibly aſk me, whether a man has it always in his power to get into the beſt company? and how? I ſay, yes, he has, by deſerving it; provided he is but in circumſtances which enable him to appear upon the footing of a gentleman. Merit and good breeding will make their way every where. Knowledge will introduce him, and good breeding will endear him to the beſt companies; for, as I have often told you, politeneſs and good-breeding are abſolutely neceſſary to adorn any, or all other good qualities or talents. Without them, no knowledge, no perfection whatſoever, is ſeen in its beſt light. The ſcholar, without good-breeding, is a pedant; the philoſopher, a cynic; the ſoldier, a brute; and every man diſagreeable. Adieu!"

The following letter is a kind of epitome of that ſyſtem of breeding, which is afterwards treated ſo much at large. What his lordſhip ſays of women, with regard to flattery, is ſomewhat ſevere; but, I am afraid too juſt.

London, Oct. 16th, O. S. 1747.

" DEAR BOY,

" The art of pleaſing is a very neceſſary one to poſſeſs; but a very difficult one acquire. It can hardly be reduced to rules; and your own good ſenſe and obſervation will teach you more of it than I can. Do as you would be done by, is the ſureſt method that I know of pleaſing. Obſerve carefully what pleaſes you in others, and probably the ſame things in you will pleaſe others. If you are pleaſed with the complaiſance and attention, of others to your humours, your taſtes or your weakneſſes, depend upon it the ſame complaiſance and attention, on your part, to theirs, will equally pleaſe them. Take the *ton* of the company, that you are in, and do not pretend to give it; be ſerious, gay, or even trifling, as you find the preſent humour of the compa-

ny: this is an attention due from every individual to the majority."

This obſervation is excellent and univerſally applicable.

" Do not tell ſtories in company; there is nothing more tedious and diſagreeable: if by chance you know a very ſhort ſtory, and exceedingly applicable to the preſent ſubject of converſation, tell it in as few words as poſſible; and even then, throw it out that you do not love to tell ſtories; but that the ſhortneſs of it tempted you. Of all things, baniſh the egotiſm out of your converſation, and never think of entertaining people with your own perſonal concerns, or private affairs; though they are intereſting to you, they are tedious and impertinent to every body elſe: beſides that, one cannot keep one's own private affairs too ſecret. Whatever you think your own excellencies may be, do not affectedly diſplay them in company; nor labour, as many people do, to give that turn to the converſation, which may ſupply you with an opportunity of exhibiting them. If they are real they will infallibly be diſcovered, without your pointing them out yourſelf, and with much more advantage. Never maintain an argument with heat and clamour, though you think or know yourſelf to be in the right; but give your opinion modeſtly and coolly, which is the only way to convince; and, if that does not do, try to change the converſation, by ſaying with good humour, 'We ſhall hardly convince one another, nor is it neceſſary that we ſhould; ſo let us talk of ſomething elſe.'

" Remember that there is a local propriety to be obſerved in all companies; and that what is extremely proper in one company may be, and often is, highly improper in another.

" The jokes, the *bons mots*, the little adventures which may do very well in one company, will ſeem flat and tedious, when related in another. The particular characters, the habits, the cant of one com-

pa

pany may give merit to a word, or gesture, which would have none at all if divested of those accidental circumstances. Here people very commonly err; and, fond of something that has entertained them in one company, and in certain circumstances, repeat it with emphasis in another, where it is either insipid, or it may be, offensive, by being ill-timed, or misplaced. Nay, they often do it with this silly preamble; 'I 'will tell you an excellent thing;' or, 'I will tell you 'the best thing in the world.' This raises expectations, which, when absolutely disappointed, make the relator of this excellent thing look, very deservedly, like a fool.

"If you would particularly gain the affection and friendship, of particular people, whether men or women, endeavour to find out their predominant excellency, if they have one, and their prevailing weakness, which every body has; and do justice to the one, and something more than justice to the other. Men have various objects in which they may excel, or at least would be thought to excel; and, though they love to hear justice done to them, where they know that they excel, yet they are most and best flattered upon those points where they wish to excel, and yet are doubtful whether they do or not. As for example: cardinal Richlieu, who was undoubtedly the ablest statesman of his time, or perhaps of any other, had the idle vanity of being thought the best poet too; he envied the great Corneille his reputation, and ordered a criticism to be written upon the Cid. Those, therefore, who flattered skilfully, said little to him of his abilities in state affairs, or at least but *en passant*, and as it might naturally occur. But the incense which they gave him, the smoke of which they knew, would turn his head in their favour, was a *bel esprit* and a poet. Why? Because he was sure of one excellency, and distrustful as to the other.

"You will easily discover every man's prevailing vanity, by observing his favourite topic of conversation;

tion; for every man talks moſt of what he has moſt a mind to be thought to excel in. Touch him but there, and you touch him to the quick. The late Sir Robert Walpole, (who was certainly an able man) was little open to flattery upon that head; for he was in no doubt himſelf about it, but his prevailing weakneſs was, to be thought to have a polite and happy turn to gallantry; of which he had undoubtedly leſs than any man living; it was his favourite and frequent ſubject of converſation: which proved, to thoſe who had any penetration, that it was his prevailing weakneſs. And they applied to it with ſucceſs.

"Women have, in general, but one object, which is their beauty; upon which, ſcarce any flattery is too groſs for them to ſwallow. Nature has hardly formed a woman ugly enough, to be inſenſible to flattery upon her perſon; if her face is ſo ſhocking, that ſhe muſt, in ſome degree, be conſcious of it, her figure and her air, ſhe truſts, make ample amends for it. If her figure is deformed, her face, ſhe thinks counterbalances it. If they are both bad, ſhe comforts herſelf, that ſhe has graces; a certain manner; a *je ne ſçais quoi*, ſtill more engaging than beauty. This truth is evident, from the ſtudied and elaborate dreſs of the ugliеſt women in the world. An undoubted, unconteſted, conſcious beauty, is, of all women, the leaſt ſenſible of flattery upon that head; ſhe knows it is her due, and is therefore obliged to nobody, for giving it her. She muſt be flattered upon her underſtanding; which, though ſhe may poſſibly not doubt of herſelf, yet ſhe ſuſpects that men may diſtruſt.

"Do not miſtake me, and think that I mean to recommend to you abject and criminal flattery: no; flatter nobody's vices or crimes: on the contrary, abhor and diſcourage them. But there is no living in the world without a complaiſant indulgence for people's weakneſſes, and innocent, though ridiculous vanities. If a man has a mind to be thought wiſer, and

a woman

a woman handsomer, than they really are, their error is a comfortable one to themselves, and an innocent one with regard to other people; and I would rather make them my friends, by indulging them in it, than my enemies, by endeavouring (and that to no purpose) to undeceive them.

"There are little attentions, likewise, which are infinitely engaging, and which sensibly affect that degree of pride and self-love, which is inseparable from human nature; as they are unquestionable proofs of the regard and consideration which we have for the persons to whom we pay them. As for example; to observe the little habits, the likings, the antipathies, and the tastes of those whom we would gain; and then take care to provide them with the one, and to secure them from the other; giving them, genteely, to understand, that you had observed they liked such a dish, or such a room; for which reason you had prepared it: or, on the contrary, that having observed they had an aversion to such a dish, a dislike to such a person, *&c.* you had taken care to avoid presenting them. Such attention, to such trifles, flatters self-love much more than greater things, as it makes people think themselves almost the only objects of your thoughts and care.

"These are some of the arcana's necessary for your initiation in the great society of the world. I wish I had known them better, at your age; I have paid the price of three-and-fifty years for them, and shall not grudge it, if you reap the advantage.—Adieu."

The earl of Chesterfield writes several o her letters to his son before his resignation; but, as they contain nothing interesting, I shall not trouble the reader with them, but proceed to the general system.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

His Lordſhip reſigns the Secretaryſhip, and reſolves on a life of Retirement. The ſecond Part of the Syſtem of Education, delivered in a ſeries of Letters to his Son, with moral and critical Obſervations.

The earl of Cheſterfield, finding his health declining, reſigned his office of ſecretary of ſtate (which he had exerciſed with equal integrity and ability) on the 6*th* of February, 1748. He gives the following account of his reſignation, and his reaſons for it, in a letter to his ſon.

London, Feb. 9th, O. S. 1748.

"DEAR BOY,

"YOU will receive this letter, not from a ſecretary of ſtate, but from a private man; for whom, at his time of life, quiet was as fit, and as neceſſary, as labour and activity are for you at your age, and for many years ſtill to come. I reſigned the ſeals, laſt Saturday, to the King; who parted with me moſt graciouſly, and (I may add, for he ſaid ſo himſelf) with regret. As I retire from hurry to quiet, and to enjoy, at my eaſe, the comforts of private and ſocial life, you will eaſily imagine that I have no thoughts of oppoſition, or meddling with buſineſs.—*Otium cum dignitate*, is my object. The former I now enjoy; and I hope that my conduct and character entitle me to ſome ſhare of the latter. In ſhort, I am now happy; and I found that I could not be ſo in my former public ſituation.

"As I like your correſpondence better than that of all the kings, princes, and miniſters in Europe, I ſhall now have leiſure to carry it on more regularly. My letters to you will be written, I am ſure, by me, and, I hope, read by you, with pleaſure; which, I believe, ſeldom happens, reciprocally, to letters written from and to a ſecretary's office.

"Do

" Do not apprehend that my retirement from buſineſs may be a hindrance to your advancement in it, at a proper time; on the contrary, it will promote it: for, having nothing to aſk for myſelf, I ſhall have the better title to aſk for you. But you have ſtill a ſurer way than this of riſing, and which is wholly in your own power. Make yourſelf neceſſary; which, with your natural parts, you may, by application, do. We are in general, in England, ignorant of foreign affairs; and of the intereſts, views, pretenſions and policy of other courts. That part of knowledge never enters into our thoughts, nor makes part of our education; for which reaſon, we have fewer proper ſubjects for foreign commiſſions, than any other country in Europe; and, when foreign affairs happen to be debated in parliament, it is incredible with how much ignorance. The harveſt of foreign affairs being then ſo great, and the labourers ſo few, if you make yourſelf maſter of them, you will make yourſelf neceſſary; firſt as a foreign, and then as a domeſtic miniſter for that department.

" I am extremely well pleaſed with the account you give me, of the allotment of your time. Do but go on ſo, for two years longer, and I will aſk no more of you. Your labours will be their own reward; but if you deſire any other, that I can add, you may depend upon it.

" I am glad that you perceive the indecency and turpitude of thoſe of your *commenſaux*, who diſgrace and foul themſelves with dirty w—s and ſcoundrel gameſters. And the light in which, I am ſure, you ſee all reaſonable and decent people conſider them, will be a good warning to you. Adieu."

The following letter is a ſequel to the former: it ſhews us his lordſhip ſettled in retirement; and concludes with ſome of thoſe inſtructions, which are afterwards carried on without interruption, and which form a moſt elegant ſyſtem of morals and manners.

Bath,

Bath, Feb. 16th, O. S. 1748.

" DEAR BOY,

" The firſt uſe that I made of my liberty, was to come here, where I arrived yeſterday. My health, though not fundamentally bad, yet, for want of proper attention of late, wanted ſome repairs, which theſe waters never fail giving it. I ſhall drink them a month, and return to London, there to enjoy the comforts of ſocial life, inſtead of groaning under the load of buſineſs. I have given the deſcription of the life that I propoſe to lead for the future, in this motto, which I have put up in the frize of my library in my new houſe;

Nunc veterum libris, nunc ſomno, et inertibus horis,
Ducere ſollicitæ jucunda oblivia vitæ.

I muſt obſerve to you, upon this occaſion, that the uninterrupted ſatisfaction which I expect to find in that library, will be chiefly owing to my having employed ſome part of my life, well at your age. I wiſh I had employed it better, and my ſatisfaction would now be complete; but, however, I planted, while young, that degree of knowledge which is now my refuge and my ſhelter. Make your plantations ſtill more extenſive, they will more than pay you for your trouble.

" I do not regret the time that I paſſed in pleaſures; they were reaſonable, they were the pleaſures of youth, and I enjoyed them while young. If I had not, I ſhould probably have overvalued them now, as we are very apt to do what we do not know: but, knowing them as I do, I knew their real value, and how much they are generally over-rated. Nor do I regret the time that I have paſſed in buſineſs, for the ſame reaſon; thoſe who ſee only the outſide of it, imagine that it has hidden charms, which they pant after; and nothing but acquaintance can undeceive them. I, who have been behind the ſcenes, both of pleaſure and buſineſs, and have ſeen all the ſprings and

and pullies of thoſe decorations which aſtoniſh and dazzle the audience, retire, not only without regret, but with contentment and ſatisfaction. But what I do, and ever ſhall regret, is the time which, while young, I loſt in mere idleneſs, and in doing nothing. This is the common effect of the inconſideracy of youth, againſt which I beg you will be moſt carefully upon your guard. The value of moments, when caſt up, is immenſe, if well employed; if thrown away, their loſs is irrecoverable. Every moment may be put to ſome uſe, and that with much more pleaſure than if unemployed.

"Do not imagine, that, by the employment of time, I mean an uninterrupted application to ſerious ſtudies. No; pleaſures are, at proper times, both as neceſſary and as uſeful: they faſhion and form you for the world; they teach you characters, and ſhew you the human heart in its unguarded minutes. But then remember to make that uſe of them. I have known many people, from lazineſs of mind, go thro' both pleaſure and buſineſs, with equal inattention; neither enjoying the one, nor doing the other: thinking themſelves men of pleaſure, becauſe they were mingled with thoſe who were, and men of buſineſs becauſe they had buſineſs to do, though they did not do it. Whatever you do, do it to the purpoſe; do it thoroughly, not ſuperficially. *Approfondiſſez*; go to the bottom of things. Any thing half done, or half known, is, in my mind, neither done nor known at all. Nay worſe, for it often miſleads. There is hardly any place, or any company, where, you may not gain knowledge, if you pleaſe; almoſt every body knows ſome one thing, and is glad to talk upon that one thing. Seek and you will find, in this world as well as in the next. See every thing, inquire into every thing; and you may excuſe your curioſity, and the queſtions you aſk, which otherwiſe might be thought impertinent, by your manner of aſking them; for moſt things depend a great deal upon

upon the manner. As for example; *I am afraid that I am very troubleſome with my queſtions; but nobody can inform me ſo well as you*; or ſomething of that kind.

"Now, that you are in a Lutheran country, go to their churches, and obſerve the manner of their public worſhip; attend to their ceremonies, and inquire the meaning and intention of every one of them. And, as you will ſoon underſtand German well enough, attend to their ſermons, and obſerve their manner of preaching. Inform yourſelf of their church-government; whether it reſides in the ſovereign, or in conſiſtories and ſynods. Whence ariſes the maintenance of their clergy; whether from tythes, as in England, or from voluntary contributions, or from penſions from the ſtate. Do the ſame thing when you are in Roman Catholic countries; go to their churches, ſee all their ceremonies; aſk the meaning of them, get the terms explained to you. As for inſtance, prime, tierce, ſexte, nones, mattins, angelus, high maſs, veſpers, complies, *&c.* Inform yourſelf of the ſeveral religious orders, their founders, their rules, their vows, their habits, their revenues, *&c.* But when you frequent places of public worſhip, as I would have you go to all the different ones you meet with, remember, that, however erroneous, they are none of them objects either of laughter or ridicule. Honeſt error is to be pitied, not ridiculed. The object of all the public worſhips in the world is the ſame; it is that great eternal Being, who created every thing. The different manners of worſhip are by no means ſubjects of ridicule. Each ſect thinks its own the beſt; and I know no infallible judge, in the world, to decide which is the beſt.

"Make the ſame inquiries, wherever you are, concerning the revenues, the military eſtabliſhment, the trade, the commerce, and the police of every country. And you would do well to keep a blank paper book, which the Germans call an *Album*,

and there, inſtead of deſiring, as they do, every fool they meet with to ſcribble ſomething, write down all theſe things, as ſoon as they come to your knowledge from good authorities.

"I had almoſt forgotten one thing, which I would recommend as an object for your curioſity and information, that is the adminiſtration of juſtice; which, as it is always carried on in open court, you may, and I would have you, go and ſee it, with an attention and enquiry."

Having mentioned Religion ſlightly in his laſt, his lordſhip next touches on morals, and illuſtrates, with great learning, the danger of exceſs, even in the beſt things.

"Every excellency, and every virtue," obſerves he, "has its kindred vice or weakneſs; and, if carried beyond certain bounds, ſinks into the one or the other. Generoſity often runs into profuſion, œconomy into avarice, courage into raſhneſs, caution into timidity, and ſo on:—inſomuch that, I believe, there is more judgment required, for the proper conduct of our virtues, than for avoiding their oppoſite vices. Vice, in its true light, is ſo deformed, that it ſhocks us at firſt ſight; and would hardly ever ſeduce us, if it did not, at firſt, wear the maſk of ſome virtue. But virtue is, in itſelf, ſo beautiful, that it charms us at firſt ſight; engages us more and more, upon further acquaintance; and, as with other beauties, we think exceſs impoſſible: it is here that judgment is neceſſary, to moderate and direct the effects of an excellent cauſe. I ſhall apply this reaſoning, at preſent, not to any particular virtue, but to an excellency, which, for want of judgment, is often the cauſe of ridiculous and blameable effects; I mean, great learning, which, if not accompanied with ſound judgment, frequently carries us into error, pride, and pedantry. As, I hope, you will poſſeſs that excellency in its utmoſt extent, and yet without

without its too common failings, the hints, which my experience can ſuggeſt, may probably, not be uſeleſs to you.

" Some learned men, proud of their knowledge, only ſpeak to decide, and give judgment without appeal. The conſequence of which is, that mankind, provoked by the inſult, and injured by the oppreſſion, revolt; and, in order to ſhake off the tyranny, even call the lawful authority in queſtion. The more you know, the modeſter you ſhould be: and, (by the bye) that modeſty is the ſureſt way of gratifying your vanity. Even where you are ſure, ſeem rather doubtful: repreſent, but do not pronounce; and, if you would convince others, ſeem open to conviction yourſelf.

" Others, to ſhow their learning, or often from the prejudices of a ſchool-education, where they hear of nothing elſe, are always talking of the Ancients, as ſomething more than men, and of the Moderns as ſomething leſs. They are never without a claſſic or two in their pockets; they ſtick to the old good ſenſe; they read none of the modern trash; and will ſhow you plainly, that no improvement has been made, in any one art or ſcience, theſe laſt ſeventeen hundred years. I would by no means have you diſown your acquaintance with the Ancients; but ſtill leſs would I have you brag of an exclusive intimacy with them. Speak of the Moderns without contempt, and of the Ancients without idolatry; judge them all by their merits, but not by their ages; and, if you happen to have an Elzevir claſſic in your pocket, neither ſhow it nor mention it.

" Some great ſcholars, moſt abſurdly, draw all their maxims, both for public and private life, from what they call parallel caſes in the ancient authors; without conſidering, that, in the firſt place, there never were, ſince the creation of the world, two caſes exactly parallel: and, in the next place, that

there

there never was a case stated, or even known, by any historian, with every one of its circumstances; which, however, ought to be known, in order to be reasoned from. Reason upon the case itself, and the several circumstances that attend it, and act accordingly; but not from the authority of ancient poets or historians. Take into your consideration, if you please, cases seemingly analogous; but take them as helps only, not as guides. We are really so prejudiced by our educations; that, as the antients deified their heroes, we deify their madmen: of which, with all due regard to antiquity, I take Leonidas and Curtius to have been two distinguished ones. And yet a solid pedant would, in a speech in parliament, relative to a tax of two-pence in the pound, upon some commodity or other, quote those two heroes, as examples of what we ought to do, and suffer for our country. I have known these absurdities carried so far, by people of injudicious learning, that I should not be surprised, if some of them were to propose, while we are at war with the Gauls, that a number of geese should be kept in the tower, upon account of the infinite advantage which Rome received, *in a parallel case*, from a certain number of geese in the Capitol. This way of reasoning, and this way of speaking, will always form a poor politician, and a puerile declaimer.

"There is another species of learned men, who, though less dogmatical and supercilious, are not less impertinent. These are the communicative and shining pedants, who adorn their conversation, even with women, by happy quotations of Greek and Latin, and who have contracted such a familiarity with the Greek and Roman authors, that they call them by certain names or epithets denoting intimacy. As *old* Homer; that *sly rogue* Horace; *Maro*, instead of Virgil; and *Naso*, instead of Ovid. These are often imitated by coxcombs, who have no learning at

at all; but who have got ſome names, and ſome ſcraps of ancient authors by heart, which they improperly and impertinently retail in all companies, in hopes of paſſing for ſcholars. If, therefore, you would avoid the accuſation of pedantry, on one hand, or the ſuſpicion of ignorance on the other, abſtain from learned oſtentation. Speak the language of the company that you are in; ſpeak it purely, and unlarded with any other. Never ſeem wiſer or more learned, than the people you are with. Wear your learning, like your watch, in a private pocket; and do not pull it out, and ſtrike it, merely to ſhow that you have one. If you are aſked what o'clock it is, tell it; but do not proclaim it hourly and unaſked, like the watchman."

Theſe precepts are certainly excellent: but, ſince his lordſhip ſaw the propriety of ſpeaking the language of the *company* one is in, pure and *unlarded* with any other, is it not ſurpriſing that he ſhould lard the language of his country ſo much in all his writings! Would it not have been more to his honour, to have choſen the happieſt phraſes our language afforded; and, where theſe failed, to have introduced others, without a foreign idiom?

Not ſatisfied, like ſome people, with ſhewing the wrong ſide of things, as if nothing more were neceſſary to make the right agreeable, his lordſhip enforces politeneſs by argument.

"I muſt, from time to time, remind you," "ſays he, "to *ſacrifice to the Graces*. The different effects of the ſame things, ſaid or done, when accompanied or abandoned by them, is almoſt inconceivable. They prepare the way to the heart; and the heart has ſuch an influence over the underſtanding, that it is worth while to engage it in our intereſt. It is the whole of women, who are guided by nothing elſe; and it has ſo much to ſay, even with men, and the ableſt men too, that it commonly triumphs in every ſtruggle with the underſtanding.

"Mo

"Monsieur de Rochefoucault, in his maxims, says, that *l'esprit est souvent la dupe du cœur*. If he had said, instead of *souvent*, *presque toujours*, I fear he would have been nearer the truth. This being the case, aim at the heart. Intrinsic merit alone will not do: it will gain you the general esteem of all; but not the particular affection, that is the heart of any. To engage the affection of any particular person, you must, over and above your general merit, have some particular merit to that person, by services done, or offered; by expressions of regard and esteem; by complaisance, attentions, &c. for him; and the graceful manner of doing all those things opens their way to the heart, and facilitates, or rather insures, their effects.

"From your own observation, reflect what a disagreeable impression an aukward address, a slovenly figure, an ungraceful manner of speaking, whether stuttering, muttering, monotony, or drawling; an inattentive behaviour, &c. make upon you, at first sight, in a stranger, and how they prejudice you against him, though for aught you know, he may have great intrinsic sense and merit. And reflect, on the other hand, how much the opposites of all these things prepossess you, at first sight, in favour of those who enjoy them. You wish to find all good qualities in them, and are in some degree disappointed if you do not.

A thousand little things, not separately to be defined, conspire to form these graces, this *je ne sçais quoi*, that always please. A pretty person, genteel motions, a proper degree of dress, an harmonious voice, something open and chearful in the countenance, but without laughing; a distinct and properly-varied manner of speaking: all these things, and many others, are necessary ingredients in the composition of the pleasing *je ne sçais quoi*, which every body feels, though no body can describe. Observe

ſerve carefully, then, what diſpleaſes or pleaſes you, in others; and be perſuaded, that, in general, the ſame things will pleaſe or diſpleaſe them, in you."

Theſe obſervations are truly valuable; but the following, with regard to laughter, ſeem rather cynical: they let us, however, into a curious particular in his lordſhip's character.

"Having mentioned laughing, I muſt particularly warn you againſt it: and I could heartily wiſh, that you may often be ſeen to ſmile, but never heard to laugh, while you live. Frequent and loud laughter is the characteriſtic of folly and ill manners: it is the manner in which the mob expreſs their ſilly joy, at ſilly things; and they call it being merry. In my mind, there is nothing ſo illiberal, and ſo ill-bred, as audible laughter. True wit, or ſenſe, never made any body laugh; they are above it: they pleaſe the mind, and give a chearfulneſs to the countenance. But it is low buffoonery, or ſilly accidents, that always excite laughter; and that is what people of ſenſe and breeding ſhould ſhow themſelves above. A man's going to ſit down, in the ſuppoſition that he has a chair behind him, and falling down upon his breech for want of one, ſets a whole company a laughing, when all the wit in the world would not do it; a plain proof, in my mind, how low and unbecoming a thing laughter is. Not to mention the diſagreeable noiſe that it makes, and the ſhocking diſtortion of the face that it occaſions. Laughter is eaſily reſtrained, by a very little reflection; but, as it is generally connected with the idea of gaiety, people do not enough attend to its abſurdity. I am neither of a melancholy, nor a cynical diſpoſition; and am as willing, and as apt to be pleaſed as any body; but I am ſure that, ſince I have had the full uſe of my reaſon, nobody has ever heard me laugh."

The remark that follows is of more conſequence.

"Many people, at firſt from aukwardneſs and *mouvaiſe honte*, have got a very diſagreeable and ſilly

trick

trick of laughing, whenever they speak: and I know a man of very good parts, Mr. Waller, who cannot say the commonest thing without laughing; which makes those, who do not know him, take him at first for a natural fool. This and many other very disagreeable habits, are owing to *mauvaise honte* at their first setting out in the world. They are ashamed in company, and so disconcerted, that they do not know what they do, and try a thousand tricks to keep themselves in countenance; which tricks afterwards grow habitual to them. Some put their fingers in their nose, others scratch their head, others twirl their hats; in short, every aukward, ill-bred booby has his trick. But the frequency does not justify the thing; and all these vulgar habits and aukwardness, though not criminal indeed, are most carefully to be guarded against, as they are great bars in the way of the art of pleasing."

The earl of Chesterfield next recommends to his son such books as are necessary to lay the foundation of political knowledge, and gives him some rules for the study of Modern History; in which he discovers much learning and political discernment.

"I am pleased to find," — says he, — "that you have read with attention Caillieres, Pequet, and Richelieu's Letters. The Memoirs of the Cardinal de Retz, will both entertain and instruct you; they relate to a very interesting period of the French history, the ministry of Cardinal Mazarin, during the minority of Lewis XIV. The characters of all the considerable people of that time are drawn, in a short, strong, and masterly manner; and the political reflections, which are most of them printed in Italics, are the justest that ever I met with; they are not the laboured reflections of a systematical closet politician, who, without the least experience of business, sits at home and writes maxims; but they are the reflections which a great and able man formed from long experience, and practice, in great business

They are true concluſions, drawn from facts, not from ſpeculations.

" As Modern Hiſtory is particularly your buſineſs, I will give you ſome rules to direct your ſtudy of it. It begins, properly, with Charlemagne, in the year 800. But as, in thoſe times of ignorance, the prieſts and monks were almoſt the only people that could or did write, we have ſcarcely any hiſtories of thoſe times but ſuch as they have been pleaſed to give us; which are compounds of ignorance, ſuperſtition, and party zeal. So that a general notion of what is rather ſuppoſed, than really known to be, the hiſtory of the five or ſix following centuries, ſeems to be ſufficient: and much time would be but ill employed in a minute attention to thoſe legends. But reſerve your utmoſt care, and moſt diligent inquiries, for the fifteenth century, and downwards. Then learning began to revive, and credible hiſtories to be written; Europe began to take the form, which, to ſome degree, it ſtill retains, at leaſt the foundations of the preſent great powers of Europe were then laid. Lewis XI. made France, in truth, a monarchy, or, as he uſed to ſay himſelf, *la mit hors de Page.* Before his time, they were independent provinces in France, as the Dutchy of Britanny, &c. whoſe princes tore it to pieces, and kept in conſtant domeſtic confuſion. Lewis the XIth reduced all theſe petty States, by fraud, force, or marriage: for he ſcrupled no means to obtain his ends.

" About that time, Ferdinand king of Arragon, and Iſabella his wife, queen of Caſtile, united the whole Spaniſh monarchy; and drove the Moors out of Spain, who had, till then, kept poſſeſſion of Granada. About that time too, the Houſe of Auſtria laid the great foundations of its ſubſequent power; firſt, by the marriage of Maximilian with the heireſs of Burgundy; and then, by the marriage of his ſon Philip, archduke of Auſtria, with Jane, the daughter of Iſabella, queen of Spain, and heireſs of

of that whole kingdom, and of the West-Indies. By the first of these marriages, the House of Austria acquired the seventeen provinces; and by the latter, Spain and America; all which centered in the person of Charles the Fifth, son of the abovementioned archduke, Philip, the son of Maximilian. It was upon account of these two marriages, that the following Latin distich was made:

Bella gerant alii, Tu felix Austria nube,
Nam quæ Mars aliis, dat tibi regna Venus.

"This immense power, which the Emperor Charles the Fifth found himself possessed of, gave him a desire for universal power, (for people never desire all till they have gotten a great deal) and alarmed France: this sowed the seeds of that jealousy and enmity, which have flourished ever since, between those two great powers. Afterwards the House of Austria was weakened by the division made by Charles the Fifth of its dominions, between his son, Philip the Second of Spain, and his brother Ferdinand; and has ever since been dwindling to the weak condition in which it now is. This is a most interesting part of the history of Europe, of which it is most absolutely necessary that you should be exactly and minutely informed."

Dr. Robertson's History of the Reign of Charles V. yields all the information relative to this period that can be desired.

"There are," continues he, "in the history of most countries, certain very remarkable æras, which deserve more particular inquiry and attention than the common run of history. Such is the revolt of the seventeen provinces, in the reign of Philip the Second of Spain; which ended in forming the present Republic of the seven United Provinces; whose independency was first allowed by Spain at the treaty of Munster. Such was the extraordinary revolution of Portugal, in the year 1640, in favour of the pre-

ſent Houſe of Braganza. Such is the famous revolution of Sweden, when Chriſtian the Second of Denmark, who was alſo king of Sweden, was driven out by Guſtavus Vaſa. And ſuch, alſo, is that memorable æra in Denmark, of 1660; when the States of that kingdom made a voluntary ſurrender of all their rights and liberties to the crown; and changed that free ſtate into the moſt abſolute monarchy now in Europe. The *Acta Regia*, upon that occaſion, are worth your peruſing. Theſe remarkable periods of Modern Hiſtory deſerve your particular attention, and moſt of them have been treated ſingly by good hiſtorians, which are worth your reading.

"The revolutions of Sweden, and of Portugal, are moſt admirably well written, by L'Abbé de Vertot; they are ſhort, and will not take twelve hours reading. There is another book which very well deſerves your looking into, but not worth your buying at preſent, becauſe it is not portable: if you can borrow, or hire it, you ſhould; and that is, *L'Hiſtoire des Traités de Paix*, in two volumes, folio, which makes part of the *Corps Diplomatique*. You will there find a ſhort and clear hiſtory, and the ſubſtance of every treaty made in Europe, during the laſt century, from the treaty of Vervins. Three parts in four of this book are not worth your reading, as they relate to treaties of very little importance; but if you ſelect the moſt conſiderable ones, read them with attention, and take ſome notes, it will be of great uſe to you. Attend chiefly to thoſe in which the great powers of Europe are the parties; ſuch as the treaty of the Pyrenées, between France and Spain; the treaties of Nimeguen and Ryſwick: but, above all, the treaty of Munſter ſhould be moſt circumſtantially and minutely known to you, as almoſt every treaty made ſince has ſome reference to it. For this, Pere Bougeant is the beſt book you can read, as it takes in the thirty years war, which preceded that treaty. The treaty itſelf, which is made a perpetual law of the

the empire, comes in the courſe of your lectures upon the *Jus Publicum Imperii.*"

His lordſhip, in the courſe of his hiſtorical remarks, proceeds next to ſpeak of the Reformation.

"You have, doubtleſs,"—ſays he,—"conſidered the cauſes of that great event, and obſerved, that diſappointment and reſentment had a much greater ſhare in it, than a religious zeal, or an abhorrence of the errors and abuſes of Popery.

"Luther, an Auguſtin Monk, enraged that his order, and conſequently himſelf, had not the excluſive privilege of ſelling indulgences, but that the Dominicans were let into a ſhare of that profitable but infamous trade, turns reformer, and exclaims againſt the abuſes, the corruption, and the idolatry, of the church of Rome; which were certainly groſs enough for him to have ſeen long before, but which he had at leaſt acquieſced in, till what he called the rights, that is the profit, of his order, came to be touched. It is true, the church of Rome furniſhed him ample matter for complaint and reformation, and he laid hold of it ably. This ſeems to me the true cauſe of that great and neceſſary work: but, whatever the cauſe was, the effect was good: and the reformation ſpread itſelf by its own truth and fitneſs; was conſcientiouſly received by great numbers in Germany, and other countries; and was ſoon afterwards mixed up with the politics of princes: and, as it always happens in religious diſputes, became the ſpecious covering of injuſtice and ambition.

"Under the pretence of cruſhing Hereſy, as it was called, the Houſe of Auſtria meant to extend and eſtabliſh its power in the empire: as, on the other hand, many Proteſtant princes, under the pretence of extirpating idolatry, or, at leaſt, of ſecuring toleration, meant only to enlarge their own dominions or privileges. Theſe views reſpectively, among the chiefs on both ſides, much more than true religious motives, continued what were called the

religious wars, in Germany, almoſt uninterruptedly, till the affairs of the two religions were finally ſettled by the treaty of Munſter."

This account of the Reformation is ſomewhat ſevere, but certainly juſt. He continues his hiſtorical obſervations with a true philoſophical ſpirit.

"Were moſt hiſtorical events traced up to their true cauſes, I fear we ſhould not find them much more noble, nor diſintereſted, than Luther's diſappointed avarice; and therefore I look with ſome contempt upon thoſe refining and ſagacious hiſtorians, who aſcribe all, even the moſt common events, to ſome deep political cauſe; whereas mankind is made up of inconſiſtencies, and no man acts invariably up to his predominant character. The wiſeſt man ſometimes acts weakly, and the weakeſt ſometimes wiſely. Our jarring paſſions, our variable humours, nay our greater or leſſer degree of health and ſpirits, produce ſuch contradictions in our conduct, that, I believe, thoſe are the oftenеſt miſtaken, who aſcribe our actions to the moſt ſeemingly obvious motives: and I am convinced, that a light ſupper, a good night's ſleep, and a fine morning, have ſometimes made a hero, of the ſame man, who, by an indigeſtion, a reſtleſs night, and a rainy morning, would have proved a coward. Our beſt conjectures, therefore, as to the true ſprings of actions, are but very uncertain; and the actions themſelves are all that we muſt pretend to know from hiſtory. That Cæſar was murdered by twenty-three conſpirators, I make no doubt; but I very much doubt, that their love of liberty, and of their country, was their ſole, or even principal motive; and I dare ſay that, if the truth were known, we ſhould find that many other motives, at leaſt concurred, even in the great Brutus himſelf; ſuch as pride, envy, perſonal pique, and diſappointment. Nay, I cannot help carrying my Pyrrhoniſm ſtill further, and extending it often to hiſtorical facts themſelves, at leaſt to moſt of the circumſtances with which they are related;

related; and every day's experience confirms me in this hiſtorical incredulity. Do we ever hear the moſt recent fact related exactly in the ſame way, by the ſeveral people who were at the ſame time eye-witneſſes of it? No. One miſtakes, another miſrepreſents; and others warp it a little to their own turn of mind, or private views. A man, who has been concerned in a tranſaction, will not write it fairly; and a man who has not, cannot.

"But, notwithſtanding all this uncertainty, hiſtory is not the leſs neceſſary to be known; as the beſt hiſtories are taken for granted, and are the frequent ſubjects both of converſation and writing. Though I am convinced that Cæſar's ghoſt never appeared to Brutus, yet I ſhould be much aſhamed to be ignorant of that fact, as related by the hiſtorians of thoſe times. — Thus the Pagan theology is univerſally received as matter for writing and converſation, though believed now by nobody; and we talk of Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, &c. as Gods, though we know, that, if they ever exiſted at all, it was only as mere mortal men. This hiſtorical Pyrrhoniſm, then, proves nothing againſt the ſtudy and knowledge of hiſtory; which, of all other ſtudies, is the moſt neceſſary, for a man who is to live in the world. It only points out to us, not to be too deciſive and peremptory; and to be cautious how we draw inferences, for our own practice, from remote facts, partially or ignorantly related; of which we can, at beſt, but imperfectly gueſs, and certainly not know the real motives.

"The teſtimonies of Ancient Hiſtory muſt neceſſarily be weaker than thoſe of Modern, as all teſtimony grows weaker and weaker, as it is more and more remote from us. I would therefore adviſe you to ſtudy Ancient Hiſtory in general, as other people do; that is, not to be ignorant of any of thoſe facts which are univerſally received, upon the faith of the beſt hiſtorians; and, whether true or falſe, you

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have them as other people have them. But Modern Hiſtory, I mean particularly that of the three laſt centuries, is what I would have you apply to with the greateſt attention and exactneſs. There the probability of coming at the truth is much greater, as the teſtimonies are much more recent; beſides, anecdotes, memoirs, and original letters, often come to the aid of Modern Hiſtory."

Senſible that the human mind delights in variety, the earl of Cheſterfield, inſtead of continuing his hiſtorical obſervations with the regularity of a ſchool-maſter, extends that Pyrrhoniſm to common opinions, which he had already exerciſed upon hiſtorical facts. After obſerving, that a courtier, without parts or knowledge, is the moſt contemptible of all beings, and a man of parts and knowledge, who acquires the manners of a court, the moſt perfect, he ſays, "It is a trite, common-place obſervation, that courts are the ſeats of falſehood and diſſimulation. That, like many, I might ſay moſt, common-place obſervations, is falſe. Falſehood and diſſimulation are certainly to be found at courts; but where are they not to be found? Cottages have them, as well as courts; only with worſe manners. A couple of neighbouring farmers, in a village, will contrive and practiſe as many tricks, to over-reach each other at the next market, or to ſupplant each other in the favour of the 'ſquire, as any two courtiers can do to ſupplant each other in the favour of their prince. Whatever poets may write, or fools believe, of rural innocence and truth, and of the perfidy of courts, this is undoubtedly true—that ſhepherds and miniſters are both men; their nature and paſſions the ſame, the modes of them only different.

"Having mentioned common-place obſervations, I will particularly caution you againſt either uſing, believing, or approving them. They are the common topics of witlings and coxcombs; thoſe, who really have wit, have the utmoſt contempt for them,

them, and scorn even to laugh at the pert things that those would-be wits say upon such subjects.

" Religion is one of their favourite topics; it is all priest-craft; and an invention contrived and carried on by priests, of all religions, for their own power and profit: from this absurd and false principle flow the common-place, insipid jokes and insults upon the clergy. With these people, every priest, of every religion, is either a public or a concealed unbeliever, drunkard, and whoremaster; whereas I conceive, that priests are extremely like other men, and neither the better nor the worse for wearing a gown or a surplice; but, if they are different from other people, probably it is rather on the side of religion and morality, or at least decency, from their education and manner of life.

" Another common topic for false wit, and cold raillery, is matrimony. Every man and his wife hate each other cordially, whatever they may pretend, in public, to the contrary. The husband certainly wishes his wife at the devil, and the wife certainly cuckolds her husband. Whereas, I presume, that men and their wives neither love nor hate each other the more, upon account of the form of matrimony which has been said over them. The cohabitation, indeed, which is the consequence of matrimony, makes them either love or hate more, accordingly as they respectively deserve it; but that would be exactly the same, between any man and woman, who lived together without being married.

" These, and many other common-place reflections upon nations, or professions, in general (which are at least as often false as true) are the poor refuge of people who have neither wit nor invention of their own, but endeavour to shine in company by second-hand finery. I always put these pert jack-anape's out of countenance, by looking extremely grave, when they expect that I should laugh at their pleasantries; and by saying *well, and so*; as if they

had not done, and that the ſting were ſtill to come. This diſconcerts them; as they have no reſources in themſelves, and have but one ſet of jokes to live upon. Men of parts are not reduced to theſe ſhifts, and have the utmoſt contempt for them: they find proper ſubjects enough for either uſeful or lively converſations; they can be witty without ſatire or common-place, and ſerious without being dull.

"The frequentation of courts, checks this petulancy of manners; the good-breeding and circumſpection which are neceſſary, and only to be learned there, correct thoſe pertneſſes. In courts, a verſatility of genius, and a ſoftneſs of manners, are abſolutely neceſſary; which ſome people miſtake for abject flattery, and having no opinion of one's own: whereas it is only the decent and genteel manner of maintaining your own opinion, and poſſibly of bringing other people to it. The manner of doing things is often more important than the things themſelves; and the very ſame thing may become either pleaſing, or offenſive, by the manner of ſaying or doing it. *Materiam ſuperabat opus*, is often ſaid of ſculpture; where, though the materials were valuable, as ſilver, gold, &c. the workmanſhip was ſtill more ſo. This holds true, applied to manners; which adorn whatever knowledge or parts people may have; and even make a greater impreſſion, upon nine in ten of mankind, than the intrinſic value of the materials. On the other hand, remember, that what Horace ſays of good writing is juſtly applicable to thoſe who would make a good figure in courts, and diſtinguiſh themſelves in the ſhining parts of life; *ſapere eſt principium et fons*. A man, who, without a good fund of knowledge and parts, adopts a court life, makes the moſt ridiculous figure imaginable. He is a machine, little ſuperior to the court clock; and, as this points out the hours, he points out the frivolous employment of them. He is, at moſt, a comment upon the clock; and, according to the hours that

it strikes, tells you now it is levee, now dinner, now supper time, *&c.*

"The end which I propose by your education, and which *(if you please)* I shall certainly attain, is, to unite in you all the knowledge of a scholar, with the manners of a courtier: and to join, what is seldom joined in any of my countrymen, books and the world. They are commonly twenty years old before they have spoken to any body above their schoolmaster, and the fellows of their college. If they happen to have learning, it is only Greek and Latin; but not one word of modern history, or modern languages. Thus prepared, they go abroad, as they call it; but, in truth, they stay at home all that while; for, being very aukward, confoundedly ashamed, and not speaking the languages, they go into no foreign company, at least none good; but dress and sup with one another only, at the tavern. Such examples, I am sure, you will not imitate, but even carefully avoid. You will always take care to keep the best company in the place, where you are, which is the only use of travelling: and (by the way) the pleasures of a gentleman are only to be found in the best company; for that riot which low company, most falsely and impudently, call pleasure, is only the sensuality of a swine."

In illustration of what his lordship here says, upon the abuse of foreign travelling, I shall introduce a letter from a young gentleman at Rome to his father in England, well known to be written by the same masterly hand.

"SIR,

"In the six weeks that I passed at Florence, and the week that I stayed at Genoa, I never had time to write to you, being wholly taken up with seeing things, of which the most remarkable is the steeple of Pisa; it is the oddest thing I ever saw in my life; it

it ſtands all awry: I wonder it does not tumble down. I met with a great many of my countrymen, and we live together very ſociably. I have been here now a month; and will give you an account of my way of life. Here are a great many very agreeable Engliſh gentlemen; we are about nine or ten, as ſmart bucks as any in England. We conſtantly breakfaſt together; and then either go and ſee ſights, or drive about the outlets of Rome in chaiſes: but the horſes are very bad, and the chaiſes do not follow well. We meet before dinner at the Engliſh coffee-houſe; where there is a very good billiard table, and very good company. From thence we go and dine together, by turns, at each other's lodgings. Then, after a chearful glaſs of claret (for we have made a ſhift to get ſome here) we go to the coffee-houſe again; from thence to ſupper, and ſo to bed.—I do not believe that theſe Romans are a bit like the old Romans; they are a parcel of thin-gutted, ſnivelling, cringing dogs; and I verily believe that our own ſet could threſh forty of them. We never go among them; it would not be worth while: beſides, we none of us ſpeak Italian, and none of thoſe ſeignors ſpeak Engliſh; which ſhows what ſort of fellows they are."

Nothing can be more happily imagined than this letter, and the following ſhort account of a home-bred Engliſh gentleman in the preſence of his ſove-reign, which ſerves to introduce the character of a well-bred man, is not perhaps inferior, and is a pro-per addenda to what was ſaid of courts.

"How many men have I ſeen here," ſays his lordſhip, "who after having had the full benefit of an Engliſh education, firſt at ſchool, and then at the univerſity; when they have been preſented to the King, did not know whether they ſtood upon their heads or their heels? If the king ſpoke to them, they were annihilated; they trembled, en-deavoured to put their hands in their pockets and miſſed them, let their hats fall, and were aſham-

to take them up; and, in short, put themselves in every attitude but the right, that is, the easy and natural one. — The characteristic of a well-bred man is, to converse with his inferiors without insolence, and with his superiors with respect, and with ease. He talks to kings without concern; he trifles with women of the first condition, with familiarity, gaiety, but with respect; and converses with his equals, whether he is acquainted with them or not, upon general common topics, that are not, however, quite frivolous, without the least concern of mind, or awkwardness of body: neither of which can appear to advantage, but when they are perfectly easy:

His lordship resumes his historical observations thus:

"There are many great events in history, which, when once they are over, leave things in the situation in which they found them. As for instance, the late war, 1741; which, excepting the establishment in Italy for Don Philip, leaves things pretty much in *statu quo*; a mutual restitution of all acquisitions being stipulated by the preliminaries of the peace. Such events undoubtedly deserve your notice, but yet not so minutely as those, which are not only important in themselves, but equally (or it may be more) important by their consequences too: of this latter sort were, the progress of the Christian religion in Europe; the invasion of the Goths: the division of the Roman empire into western and eastern; the establishment and rapid progress of Mahometanism; and lastly, the Reformation: all which events produced the greatest changes in the affairs of Europe, and to one or other of which, the present situation of all the parts of it is to be traced up.

"Next to these, are those events which more immediately affect particular states and kingdoms, and

and which are reckoned merely local, though their influence may, and indeed very often does, indirectly extend itſelf further; ſuch as civil wars, and revolutions, from which a total change in the form of government frequently flows. The civil wars in England, in the reign of king Charles I. produced an intire change of the government here, from a limited monarchy to a commonwealth, at firſt, and afterwards to abſolute power, uſurped by Cromwell, under the pretence of protection, and the title of protector.

" The revolution, in 1688, inſtead of changing, preſerved our form of government; which king James II. intended to ſubvert, and eſtabliſh abſolute power in the crown.

" Theſe are the two great epochas in our Engliſh hiſtory, which I recommend to your particular attention.

" The league formed by the houſe of Guiſe, and fomented by the artifices of Spain, is a moſt material part of the hiſtory of France. The foundation of it was laid in the reign of Henry II. but the ſuperſtructure was carried on through the ſucceſſive reigns of Francis II. Charles IX. and Henry III. till at laſt it was cruſhed, partly by the arms, but more by the apoſtacy, of Henry IV.

" In Germany great events have been frequent, by which the Imperial dignity has always either gotten or loſt: and ſo far they have affected the conſtitution of the empire. The houſe of Auſtria kept that dignity to itſelf for near two hundred years, during which time it was always attempting to extend its power, by incroaching upon the rights and privileges of the other ſtates of the empire; till, at the end of the *bellum tricennale*, the treaty of Munſter, of which France is guarantee, fixed the reſpective claims.

" Italy

" Italy has been conſtantly torn to pieces, from the time of the Goths, by the popes and anti-popes, ſeverally ſupported by other great powers of Europe, more as their intereſt than as their religion led them. By the pretenſions alſo of France, and the houſe of Auſtria, upon Naples, Sicily, and the Milaneſe; not to mention the various leſſer cauſes of ſquabbles there, for the little ſtates, ſuch as Ferrara, Parma, Montſerrat, *&c.*

" The popes, till lately, have always taken a conſiderable part, and had great influence in the affairs of Europe: their excommunications, bulls, and indulgences, ſtood inſtead of armies, in the times of ignorance and bigotry; but now, that mankind is better informed, the ſpiritual authority of the pope is not only leſs regarded, but even deſpiſed, by the Catholic princes themſelves; and his Holineſs is actually little more than biſhop of Rome, with large temporalities; which he is not likely to keep longer than till the other greater powers in Italy ſhall find their conveniency in taking them from him. Among the modern popes, Leo the Xth, Alexander the VIth, and Sixtus Quintus, deſerve your particular notice. The firſt, among other things, for his own learning and taſte, and for his encouragement of the reviving arts and ſciences in Italy. Under his protection, the Greek and Latin claſſics were moſt excellently tranſlated into Italian; painting flouriſhed and arrived at its perfection; and ſculpture came ſo near the ancients, that the works of his time, both in marble and bronze, are now called *Antico-Moderno.*

" Alexander the VIth, together with his natural ſon Cæſar Borgia, was famous for his wickedneſs; in which he, and his ſon too, ſurpaſſed all imagination. Their lives are well worth reading. They were poiſoned, themſelves, by the poiſoned wine which

which they had prepared for others: the father died of it, but Cæsar recovered.

"Sixtus the Vth was the son of a swineherd; and raised himself to the popedom by his abilities: he was a great knave, but an able and a singular one."

He concludes his observations on general history with the following judicious reflection and advice.

"Many great readers load their memories, without exercising their judgments; and make lumber-rooms of their heads, instead of furnishing them usefully: facts are heaped upon facts, without order or distinction, and may justly be said to compose that

——— *Rudis indigestaque moles*
Quem dixere chaos.

Take nothing for granted, upon the bare authority of the author; but weigh and consider, in your own mind, the probability of the facts, and the justness of the reflections. Consult different authors upon the same facts, and form your opinion upon the greater or lesser degree of probability arising from the whole; which, in my mind, is the utmost stretch of historical faith: certainty (I fear) not being to be found, When an historian pretends to give you the causes and the motives of events, compare those causes and motives with the characters and interests of the parties concerned, and judge for yourself, whether they correspond or not. Consider whether you cannot assign others more probable; and in that examination, do not despise some very mean and trifling causes of the actions of great men: for so various and inconsistent is human nature, so strong and so changeable are our passions, so fluctuating are our wills, and so much are our minds influenced by the accidents of our bodies, that every man is more the man of the day, than a regular and consequential character."

From

From general hiſtory, his lordſhip paſſes to the hiſtory of the religious and military orders.

" You will do well," ſays he," to have a general notion of all the religious and military orders of Europe, ancient and modern; both as they are frequently the ſubjects of converſation, and as they are more or leſs interwoven with the hiſtories of thoſe times. Witneſs the Teutonic Order, which, as ſoon as it gained ſtrength, began its unjuſt depredations in Germany, and acquired ſuch conſiderable poſſeſſions there; and the Order of Malta alſo, which continues to this day its piracies upon the Infidels. Beſides, one can go into no company in Germany, without running againſt *Monſieur le Chevalier*, or *Monſieur le Commandeur de l'Ordre Teutonique*. It is the ſame in all the other parts of Europe, with regard to the Order of Malta; where you never go into company without meeting with two or three *Chevaliers* or *Commandeurs*, who talk of their *preuves*, their *langues*, their *caravanes*, *&c.* all which things I am ſure you would not willingly be ignorant of. On the other hand, I do not mean that you ſhould have a profound and minute knowledge of theſe matters, which are of a nature that a general knowledge of them is ſufficient. I would not recommend to you to read Abbé Vertot's Hiſtory of the Order of Malta, in four quarto volumes; that would be employing a great deal of good time very ill. But I would have you know the foundations, the objects, the *inſignia*, and the ſhort general hiſtory of them all.

" As for the ancient religious military Orders, which were chiefly founded in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; ſuch as Malta, the Teutonic, the Knights Templars, &c. the injuſtice and wickedneſs of thoſe eſtabliſhments cannot, I am ſure, have eſcaped your obſervation. Their pious object was, to take away, by force, other people's property;

perty; and to maſſacre the proprietors themſelves, if they refuſed to give up that property, and adopt the opinions of thoſe invaders. What right or pretence had theſe confederated Chriſtians of Europe to the Holy Land? Let them produce their grant of it in the Bible? Will they ſay, that the Saracens had poſſeſſed themſelves of it by force; and that, conſequently, they had the ſame right. Is it lawful then to ſteal goods, becauſe they were ſtolen before? Surely not. The truth is, that the wickedneſs of many, and the weakneſs of more, in thoſe ages of ignorance and ſuperſtition, concurred to form thoſe flagitious conſpiracies againſt the lives and properties of unoffending people. The Pope ſanctified the villainy, and annexed the pardon of ſins to the perpetration of it. This gave riſe to the croiſadoes, and carried ſuch ſwarms of people from Europe to the conqueſts of the Holy Land. Peter the Hermit, an active and ambitious prieſt, by his indefatigable pains, was the immediate author of the firſt croiſade; kings, princes, all profeſſions and characters united, from different motives, in this great undertaking, as every ſentiment, except true religion and morality, invited to it. The ambitious hoped for kingdoms; the greedy and neceſſitous for plunder; and ſome were enthuſiaſts enough to hope for ſalvation, by the deſtruction of a conſiderable number of their fellow-creatures, who had done them no injury. I cannot omit, upon this occaſion, telling you, that the Eaſtern emperors at Conſtantinople, (who, as Chriſtians, were obliged, at leaſt, to ſeem to favour theſe expeditions) ſeeing the immmenſe numbers of the *Croiſez*, and fearing that the Weſtern Empire might have ſome mind to the Eaſtern Empire too, if it ſucceeded againſt the Infidels, as *l'appetit vient en mangeans*; theſe Eaſtern emperors, very honeſtly, poiſoned the waters where the *Croiſez* were to paſs, and ſo deſtroyed infinite numbers of them.

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" The later orders of knighthood; such as the Garter in England; the Elephant in Denmark; the Golden Fleece in Burgundy; the St. Esprit, St. Michael, St. Louis, and St. Lazare, in France, &c. are of a very different nature and institution. They were either the invitations to, or the rewards of, brave actions, in fair war, and are now rather the decorations of the favour of the prince, than the proofs of the merit of the subject. However, they are worth your inquiries to a certain degree; and conversation will give you frequent opportunities for them. For example; while you are in Saxony, get an account of *l'Aigle Blanc*, and of what other Orders there may be, either Polish or Saxon; and, when you shall be at Berlin, inform yourself of the three Orders there, *l'Aigle Noir, la Généroſité, et le Vrai Mérite*, which are the only ones, that I know of, there. But whenever you meet with straggling ribbands and stars, as you will with a thousand in Germany, do not fail to inquire what they are, and to take a minute of them in your memorandum-book: for it is a sort of knowledge that costs little to acquire, and yet is of some use. Young people have frequently an incuriousness about them, arising either from laziness, or a contempt of the object, which deprives them of several such little parts of knowledge, that they afterwards wish they had acquired. If you will put conversation to profit, great knowledge may be gained by it; and is it not better (since it is full as easy) to turn it upon useful, than upon useless subjects? People always talk best upon what they know most, and it is both pleasing them, and improving one's-self, to put them upon that subject. With people of a particular profession, or of a distinguished eminency in any branch of learning, one is not at a loss: but with those, whether men or women, who properly constitute what is called the *beau monde*, one must not chuse deep subjects,

jects, nor hope to get any knowledge above that of orders, ranks, families, and court anecdotes; which are therefore the proper (and not altogether useless) subjects of that kind of conversation."

The transition was now easy to company and the world, subjects upon which his lordship always shines, and which he very justly considers as of more importance to a gentleman, than all other knowledge.

"Pleasing in company," observes he, is the only way of being pleased in it yourself. Sense and knowledge are the first and necessary foundations for pleasing in company; but they will by no means do alone, and they will never be perfectly welcome, if not accompanied with manners and attentions. You will best acquire these by frequenting the companies of people of fashion; but then you must resolve to acquire them, in those companies, by proper care and observation; for I have known people, who, tho' they have frequented good company all their lifetime, have done it in so inattentive and unobserving a manner, as to be never the better for it, and to remain as disagreeable, as aukward, and as vulgar, as if they had never seen any person of fashion. When you go into good company (by good company is meant the people of the first fashion of the place) observe carefully their turn, their manners, their address; and conform your own to them. But this is not all neither: go deeper still; observe their characters, and pry, as far as you can, into both their hearts and their heads. Seek for their particular merit, their predominant passion, or their prevailing weakness; and you will then know what to bait your hook with, to catch them. Man is a composition of so many, and such various ingredients, that it requires both time and care to analyse him: for though we have, all, the same ingredients in our general composition, as reason, will, passions,

paſſions, and appetites; yet the different proportions and combinations of them, in each individual, produce that infinite variety of characters, which, in ſome particular or other, diſtinguiſhes every individual from another. Reaſon ought to direct the whole, but ſeldom does: and he who addreſſes himſelf ſingly to another man's reaſon, without endeavouring to engage his heart in his intereſt alſo, is no more likely to ſucceed, than a man who ſhould apply only to a king's nominal miniſter, and neglect his favourite.

"I will recommend to your attentive peruſal, now that you are going into the world, two books, which will let you as much into the characters of men, as books can do. I mean, *Les Réflexions Morales de Monſieur de la Rochefoucault*, and *Les Caractéres de la Bruyere:* but remember, at the ſame time, that I only recommend them to you as the beſt general maps, to aſſiſt you in your journey, and not as marking out every particular turning and winding that you will meet with. There, your own ſagacity and obſervation muſt come to their aid. La Rochefoucault is, I know, blamed, but I think without reaſon, for deriving all our actions from the ſource of ſelf-love. For my own part, I ſee a great deal of truth, and no harm at all, in that opinion. It is certain, that we ſeek our own happineſs in every thing we do; and it is as certain, that we can only find it in doing well, and in conforming all our actions to the rule of right reaſon, which is the great law of nature. It is only a miſtaken ſelf-love that is a blameable motive, when we take the immediate and indiſcriminate gratification of a paſſion, or appetite, for real happineſs. But am I blameable, if I do a good action, upon account of the happineſs which that honeſt conſciouſneſs will give me? Surely not. On the contrary, that pleaſing conſciouſneſs is a proof of my virtue.

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The reflection, which is the moſt cenſured in Monſieur de la Rochefoucault's book, as a very ill-natured one, is this; *On trouve dans le malheur de ſon meilleur ami, quelque choſe qui ne deplait pas.* And why not? Why may I not feel a very tender and real concern for the misfortune of my friend, and yet at the ſame time feel a pleaſing conſciouſneſs at having diſcharged my duty to him, by comforting and aſſiſting him to the utmoſt of my power in that misfortune?"

This is not a proper ſolution of Rochefoucault's maxim; which plainly intimates, that we find ſomething which ſecretly pleaſes us, *qui ne deplait pas dans le malheur de ſon meilleur ami*, in contemplating the *misfortune* of our *beſt friend*, not in reflecting, as his lordſhip ſuppoſes, on our *own friendly conduct* towards him while in diſtreſs. If we have ſuch a feeling, as I hope we have not, it muſt therefore ariſe from a very ungenerous ſource.

"The characters of La Bruyere," adds he, "are pictures from the life; moſt of them finely drawn, and highly coloured. Furniſh your mind with them firſt; and when you meet with their likeneſs, as you will every day, they will ſtrike you the more. You will compare every feature with the original; and both will reciprocally help you to diſcover the beauties and the blemiſhes."

In the following letter, his lordſhip is led into a more particular conſideration of company, and the manner of behaving in it.

"To keep good company," ſays he, "eſpecially at your firſt ſetting out, is the way to receive good impreſſions. If you aſk me what I mean by good company, I will confeſs to you, that it is pretty difficult to define; but I will endeavour to make you underſtand it as well as I can.

"Good company is not what reſpective ſets of company are pleaſed either to call or think themſelves

selves; but it is that company which all the people of the place call, and acknowledge to be, good company, notwithstanding some objections which they may form to some of the individuals who compose it. It consists chiefly (but by no means without exception) of people of considerable birth, rank, and character: for people of neither birth nor rank, are frequently, and very justly, admitted into it, if distinguished by any peculiar merit, or eminency in any liberal art or science. In this fashionable good company, the best manners, and the best language, of the place, are unquestionably to be learnt: for they establish, and give the *ton* to both; which are therefore called the language and manners of good company, there being no legal tribunal to ascertain either."

He prosecutes his subject thus, with great discernment and accuracy.

"Having pointed out what sort of company you should keep, I will now give you some rules for your conduct in it; rules which my own experience and observation enable me to lay down, and communicate to you, with some degree of confidence.

"Talk often, but never long; in that case, if you do not please, at least you are sure not to tire your hearers. Pay your own reckoning, but do not treat the whole company; this being one of the very few cases in which people do not care to be treated, every one being fully convinced that he has wherewithal to pay.

"Never hold any body by the button, or the hand, in order to be heared out; for, if people are not willing to hear you, you had much better hold your tongue than them.

"Most long talkers single out some unfortunate man in company (commonly him whom they observe to be the most silent) or their next neighbour, to whisper, or at least, in a half voice, to convey a continuity

continuity of words to. This is exceſſively ill-bred, and, in ſome degree, a fraud; converſation-ſtock being a joint and common property. But, on the other hand, if one of theſe unmerciful talkers lays hold of you, hear him with patience, (and at leaſt ſeeming attention) if he is worth obliging; for nothing will oblige him more than a patient hearing, as nothing would hurt him more, than either to leave him in the midſt of his diſcourſe, or to diſcover your impatience under your affliction.

"Above all things, and upon all occaſions, avoid ſpeaking of yourſelf, if it be poſſible. Such is the natural pride and vanity of our hearts, that it perpetually breaks out, even in people of the beſt parts, in all the various modes and figures of the egotiſm.

"Take care never to ſeem dark and myſterious; which is not only a very unamiable character, but a very ſuſpicious one too: if you ſeem myſterious with others, they will be really ſo with you, and you will know nothing. The height of abilities is, to have *volto ſciolto*, and *penſieri ſtretti*; that is, a frank, open, and ingenuous exterior, with a prudent and reſerved interior: to be upon your own guard, and yet, by a ſeeming natural openneſs, to put people off theirs. Depend upon it, nine in ten of every company that you are in, will avail themſelves of every indiſcreet and unguared expreſſion of yours, if they can turn it to their own advantage. A prudent reſerve is therefore as neceſſary, as a ſeeming openneſs is prudent. Always look people in the face when you ſpeak to them; the not doing it is thought to imply conſcious guilt; beſides, that you loſe the advantage of obſerving, by their countenances, what impreſſion your diſcourſe makes upon them. In order to know people's real ſentiments, I truſt much more to my eyes than to my ears; for they can ſay whatever they have a mind I ſhould hear;

hear; but they can ſeldom help looking, what they have no intention that I ſhould know.

"Mimickry, which is the common and favourite amuſement of little, low minds, is in the utmoſt contempt with great ones. It is the loweſt and moſt illiberal of all buffoonery. Pray, neither practice it yourſelf, nor applaud it in others. Beſides that, the perſon mimicked is inſulted; and, as I have often obſerved to you before, an inſult is never to be forgiven."

To theſe reflections on company and converſation, his lordſhip adds an allegory, and an example, with which I ſhall conclude this chapter, and the ſecond part of the Syſtem of Education.

"Whatever I ſee, or whatever I hear," ſays he, "my firſt conſideration is, whether it can, in any way be uſeful to you. As a proof of this, I went accidentally, the other day, into a print-ſhop; where among many others, I found one print from a famous deſign of Carlo Maratti, who died about thirty years ago, and was the laſt eminent painter in Europe: the ſubject is, *il Studio del Diſegno*; or, the School of Drawing. An old man, ſuppoſed to be the maſter, points to his ſcholars, who are variouſly employed in perſpective, geometry, and the obſervation of the ſtatues of antiquity. With regard to perſpective, of which there are ſome little ſpecimens; he has wrote, *Tanto che baſti*, that is, *As much as is ſufficient*; with regard to geometry, *Tanto che baſti* again; with regard to the contemplation of the ancient ſtatues, there is written, *Non mai a baſtanza*; *There never can be enough.* But, in the clouds at the top of the piece, are repreſented the three Graces; with this juſt ſentence written over them, *Senza di noi ogni fatica è vana*; that is, *Without us, all labour is in vain.* This, every body allows to be true, in painting; but all people do not ſeem to conſider, as I hope you will, that this truth is full as applicable to every other art or ſci-

ence; indeed to every thing that is to be ſaid or done. I will ſend you the print itſelf; and I will adviſe you to make the ſame uſe of it, that the Roman Catholics ſay they do of the pictures and images of their ſaints; which is, only to remind them of thoſe: for the adoration they diſclaim. Nay, I will go farther, and, as the tranſition from popery to paganiſm is ſhort and eaſy, I will claſſically and poetically adviſe you to invoke, and ſacrifice to them every day, and all the day.

"It muſt be owned, that the Graces do not ſeem to be natives of Great-Britain; and, I doubt, the beſt of us, here, have more of the rough than the poliſhed diamond. Since barbariſm drove them out of Greece and Rome, they ſeem to have taken refuge in France, where their temples are numerous, and their worſhip the eſtabliſhed one. Examine yourſelf ſeriouſly, why ſuch and ſuch people pleaſe and engage you, more than ſuch and ſuch others, of equal merit; and you always find, that it is becauſe the former have the graces, and the latter not. I have known many a woman, with an exact ſhape, and a ſymmetrical aſſemblage of beautiful features, pleaſe nobody; while others, with very moderate ſhapes and features, have charmed every body. Why? Becauſe Venus will not charm ſo much, without her attendant Graces: as they will without her. Among men, how often have I ſeen the moſt ſolid merit and knowledge neglected, unwelcome, or even rejected, for want of them? While flimſy parts, little knowledge, and leſs merit, introduced by the graces, have been received, cheriſhed, and admired. Even virtue, which is moral beauty, wants ſome of its charms, if unaccompanied by them.

"Of all the men that ever I knew in my life, (and I knew him extremely well) the late duke of Marlborough poſſeſſed the graces in the higheſt degree, not to ſay engroſſed them; and indeed he got the

the moſt by them; for I will venture (contrary to the cuſtom of profound hiſtorians, who always aſſign deep cauſes for great events) to aſcribe the better half of the duke of Marlborough's greatneſs and riches to thoſe graces. He was eminently illiterate; wrote bad Engliſh, and ſpelled it ſtill worſe. He had no ſhare of what is commonly called *parts*; that is, he had no brightneſs, nothing ſhining in his genius. He had, moſt undoubtedly, an excellent good plain underſtanding, with ſound judgment. But theſe, alone, would probably have raiſed him but ſomething higher than they found him; which was page to king James the Second's queen. There the graces protected and promoted him; for, while he was an enſign of the guards, the dutcheſs of Cleveland, then favourite miſtreſs to king Charles the IId, ſtruck by thoſe very graces, gave him five thouſand pounds; with which he immediately bought an annuity for life, of five hundred pounds a year, of my grandfather Halifax; which was the foundation of his ſubſequent fortune. His figure was beautiful; but his manner was irreſiſtible, by either man or woman. It was by this engaging, graceful manner, that he was enabled, during all his war, to connect the various jarring powers of the grand alliance, and to carry them on to the main object of the war, notwithſtanding their private and ſeparate views, jealouſies, and wrongheadedneſſes. Whatever court he went to, (and he was often obliged to go himſelf to ſome reſty and refractory ones) he as conſtantly prevailed, and brought them into his meaſures. The penſionary Heinſius, a venerable old miniſter, grown grey in buſineſs, and who had governed the Republic of the United Provinces for more than forty years, was abſolutely governed by the duke of Marlborough, as that Republic feels to this day. He was always cool; and nobody ever obſerved the leaſt variation in his countenance: he could refuſe more gracefully than other people could

grant; and thoſe who went away from him the moſt diſſatisfied, as to the ſubſtance of their buſineſs, were yet perſonally charmed with him, and, in ſome degree, comforted by his manner. With all his gentleneſs and gracefulneſs, no man living was more conſcious of his ſituation, nor maintained his dignity better.

"With the ſhare of knowledge which you have already gotten, and with the much greater, which, I hope you will ſoon acquire, what may you not expect to arrive at, if you join all theſe graces to it? In your deſtination particularly [that of a foreign miniſter] they are, in truth, half your buſineſs; for, if you can once gain the affections, as well as the eſteem of the prince or miniſter of the court to which you are ſent, I will anſwer for it, that will effectually do the buſineſs of the court that ſent you; otherwiſe, it is up-hill work. — Do not miſtake, and think, that theſe graces, which I ſo often and ſo earneſtly recommend to you, ſhould only accompany important tranſactions, and be worn only *les jours de gala:* no; they ſhould, if poſſible, accompany every, the leaſt, thing that you do or ſay; for, if you neglect them in little things, they will leave you in great ones. I ſhould, for inſtance, be extremely concerned to ſee you even drink a cup of coffee ungracefully, and ſlop yourſelf with it, by your aukward manner of holding it; nor ſhould I like to ſee your coat buttoned, or your ſhoes bukled awry. But I ſhould be outrageous, if I heard you mutter your words unintelligibly, ſtammer in your ſpeech, or heſitate, miſplace, and miſtake in your narrations: — and I ſhould run away from you, with greater rapidity, if poſſible, than I ſhould, now, run to embrace you, if I found you deſtitute of all thoſe graces, which I have ſet my heart upon their making you one day, *omnibus ornatum, excellere rebus.*"

END of VOL I.

THE MAN of the WORLD;

OR, THE LIFE OF THE LATE Earl of CHESTERFIELD.

CHAP. VII.

The third Part of the Syſtem of Education, &c.

HIS Lordſhip having, in the two former parts, given his ſon ſuch directions as are neceſſary to form the gentleman in general, taking care however always to mark Mr. Stanhope's deſtination, devotes this more particularly to the qualifications neceſſary for an orator in the ſenate, and a miniſter at foreign courts; he therefore begins with guarding his dear pupil againſt the vain diſtinctions of the ſchools, and other errors in ſtudy.

"Pray let not quibbles of Lawyers, no refinements of Caſuiſts," ſays he, "break into the plain notions of right and wrong, which every man's right reaſon, and plain common-ſenſe, ſuggeſts to him. To do as you would be done by, is the plain, ſure, and undiſputed rule of morality and juſtice. Stick to that; and be convinced, that whatever breaks into it, in any degree, however ſpeciouſly it may be turned, and however puzzling it may be to anſwer it, is, notwithſtanding, falſe in itſelf, unjuſt, and criminal.

"I do not know a crime in the world, which is not by the Caſuiſts among the Jeſuiſts (eſpecially the twenty-four collected I think, by Eſcobar) allowed, in ſome, or many caſes, not to be criminal. The

principles firſt laid down by them are often ſpecious, the reaſonings plauſible; but the concluſion always a lie: for it is contrary to that evident, and undeniable rule of juſtice, which I have mentioned above, of not doing to any one what you would not have him do to you. But, however, theſe refined pieces of caſuiſtry and ſophiſtry, being very convenient and welcome to people's paſſions and appetites, they gladly accept the indulgence, without deſiring to detect the fallacy of the reaſoning: and indeed many, I might ſay moſt, people are not able to do it; which makes the publication of ſuch quibblings and refinements the more pernicious.

"I am no ſkilful Caſuiſt, nor ſubtle Diſputant; and yet I would undertake to juſtify, and qualify, the profeſſion of a highwayman, ſtep by ſtep, and ſo plauſibly, as to make many ignorant people embrace the profeſſion, as an innocent, if not even a laudable one; and to puzzle people, of ſome degree of knowledge, to anſwer me point by point.

"I have ſeen a book, entitled *Quidlibet ex Quolibet*, or the Art of making any thing out of any thing; which is not ſo difficult, as it would ſeem, if once one quits certain plain truths, obvious in groſs to every underſtanding, in order to run after the ingenious refinements of warm imaginations and ſpeculative reaſonings. Doctor Berkeley, Biſhop of Cloyne, a very worthy, ingenious, and learned man, has wrote a book to prove, that there is no ſuch thing as Matter, and that nothing exiſts but in idea: that you and I only fancy ourſelves eating, drinking, and ſleeping; you at Leipſig, and I at London: that we think we have fleſh and blood, legs, arms, *&c.* but that we are only ſpirit. His arguments are, ſtrictly ſpeaking, unanſwerable; but yet I am ſo far from being convinced by them, that I am determined to go on to eat and drink, and walk and ride, in order to keep that *matter*, which I ſo miſtakenly imagine my body at preſent to conſiſt of, in as good plight as poſſible. Common-ſenſe, (which,

in

in truth, is very uncommon) is the beſt ſenſe I know of: abide by it; it will counſel you beſt. Read and hear, for your amuſement, ingenious ſyſtems, nice queſtions, ſubtily agitated, with all the refinements that warm imaginations ſuggeſt; but conſider them only as exercitations for the mind, and return always to ſettle with common-ſenſe.

"It is the characteriſtic of a man of parts, and good judgment," continues he, "to know, and give that degree of attention, that each object deſerves.—Whereas little minds miſtake little objects for great ones, and laviſh away upon the former, that time and attention which only the latter deſerve. To ſuch miſtakes we owe the numerous and frivolous tribe of inſect-mongers, ſhell-mongers, and purſuers and driers of butterflies, *&c.* The ſtrong mind diſtinguiſhes, not only between the uſeful and the uſeleſs, but likewiſe between the uſeful and the curious. He applies himſelf intenſely to the former; he only amuſes himſelf with the latter. Of this little ſort of knowledge, which I have juſt hinted at, you will find, at leaſt, as much as you need wiſh to know, in a ſuperficial but pretty French book entitled, *Spectacle de la Nature*; which will amuſe you while you read it, and give you a ſufficient notion of the various parts of nature: I would adviſe you to read it, at leiſure hours. But that part of nature, which you have begun to ſtudy with the *Rector magnificus*, is of much greater importance, and deſerves much more attention; I mean Aſtronomy. The vaſt and immenſe planetary ſyſtem, the aſtoniſhing order and regularity of thoſe innumerable worlds, will open a ſcene to you, which not only deſerves your attention as a matter of curioſity, or rather aſtoniſhment; but, ſtill more, as it will give you greater, and conſequently juſter ideas of that eternal and omnipotent Being, who contrived, made, and ſtill preſerves, that univerſe, than all the contemplation of this, comparatively, very little orb, which we at preſent inhabit, could poſſibly give you.

Upon this ſubject, Monſieur Fontenelle's *Pluralité des Mondes*, which you may read in two hours time, will both inform and pleaſe you."

The young gentleman going next to Italy, his Lordſhip gives him a few directions relative to the ſtudy of the arts moſt admired in that country.

"You are now in a muſical country," ſays he, "where ſinging, fiddling, and piping are not only the common topics of converſation, but almoſt the principal objects of attention; I cannot help cautioning you againſt giving into thoſe (I will call them illiberal) pleaſures, (though muſic is commonly reckoned one of the liberal arts) to the degree that moſt of your countrymen do, when they travel in Italy. If you love muſic, hear it; go to operas, concerts, and pay fidlers to play to you; but I inſiſt upon your neither piping nor fiddling yourſelf. It puts a gentleman in a very frivolous, contemptible light; brings him into a great deal of bad company; and takes up a great deal of time, which might be much better employed. Few things would mortify me more, than to ſee you bearing a part in a concert, with a fiddle under your chin, or a pipe in your mouth."

Will not the ſcrapers of catgut be apt to call in queſtion his Lordſhip's ear, if not his taſte?—He is more favourable to the other elegant arts.

"It is very right," obſerves he, "that you ſhould have ſome idea of the military, and a good taſte in civil architecture, as they are frequent ſubjects of converſation; and you may very ſoon learn as much as you need know of either. If you read about one-third of Palladio's Book of Architecture, with ſome ſkilful perſon, and then, with that perſon, examine the beſt buildings by thoſe rules, you will know the different proportions of the different Orders; the ſeveral diameters of their columns; their intercolumniations, their ſeveral uſes, *&c.* The Corinthian Order is chiefly uſed in magnificent buildings, where ornament and decoration are the principal objects; the

Doric

Doric is calculated for strength; and the Ionic partakes of the Doric strength and of the Corinthian ornaments. The Composite and the Tuscan Orders are more modern, and were unknown to the Greeks: the one is too light, the other too clumsy. You may soon be acquainted with the considerable parts of Civil Architecture; and for the minute and mechanical parts of it, leave them to masons, bricklayers, and Lord Burlington; who has, to a certain degree, lessened himself, by knowing them too well. Observe the same method as to Military Architecture: understand the terms; know the general rules, and then see them in execution with some skilful person. Go with some Engineer or old Officer, and view, with care, the real fortifications of some strong place; and you will get a clearer idea of Bastions, Half-moons, Horn-Works, Ravelins, Glacis, *&c.* than all the masters in the world could give upon paper. And thus much I would, by all means, have you know, of both Civil and Military Architecture.

"I would also," adds he, "have you acquire a liberal taste of the two liberal arts of painting and sculpture; but without descending into those *minutiæ*, which our modern Virtuosi most affectedly dwell upon. A taste of Sculpture and Painting is, in my mind, as becoming, as a taste of fiddling and piping is unbecoming a man of fashion. Observe the great parts attentively; see if nature be truly represented; if the passions are strongly expressed; if the characters are preserved; and leave the trifling parts, with their little jargon, to affected puppies."

From the elegant arts, his Lordship descends to the article of dress; and with propriety.

"Your dress," says he, "(as insignificant a thing as dress is in itself) is now become an object worthy of some attention; for, I confess, I cannot help forming some opinion of a man's sense and character from his dress; and, I believe, most people do, as well as myself. Any affectation whatsoever,

in dreſs, implies, in my mind, a flaw in the underſtanding. Moſt of our young fellows, here, diſplay ſome character or other by their dreſs; ſome affect the tremendous, and wear a great and fiercely cocked hat, an enormous ſword, a ſhort waiſtcoat, and a black cravat: theſe I ſhould be almoſt tempted to ſwear the peace againſt, in my own defence, if I were not convinced that they are but meek aſſes in lions ſkins. Others go in brown frocks, leather breeches, great oaken cudgels in their hands, their hats uncocked, and their hair unpowdered; and imitate grooms, ſtage coachmen, and country bumpkins, ſo well in their outſides, that I do not make the leaſt doubt of their reſembling them equally in their inſides.

"A man of ſenſe carefully avoids any particular character in his dreſs; he is accurately clean for his own ſake; but all the reſt is for other people's. He dreſſes as well, and in the ſame manner, as the people of ſenſe and faſhion of the place where he is. If he dreſſes better, as he thinks, that is, more than they, he is a fop; if he dreſſes worſe, he is unpardonably negligent: but, of the two, I would rather have a young fellow too much than too little dreſſed; the exceſs on that ſide will wear off, with a little age and reflection; but if he is negligent at twenty, he will be a ſloven at forty, and ſtink at fifty years old. Dreſs yourſelf fine, where others are fine; and plain, where others are plain; but take care always, that your clothes be well made, and fit you, for otherwiſe they will give you a very aukward air. When you are once well dreſſed for the day, think no more of it afterwards; and, without any ſtiffneſs for fear of diſcompoſing that dreſs, let all your motions be as eaſy and natural, as if you had no clothes on at all:—So much for dreſs, which I maintain to be a thing of conſequence in the polite world.

"As to Manners, Good-breeding, and the Graces," adds he, "I have ſo often entertained you upon thoſe important

important ſubjects, that I can add nothing to what I have formerly ſaid. Your own good ſenſe will ſuggeſt to you the ſubſtance of them; and obſervation, experience, and good company, the ſeveral modes of them. Your great vivacity, which I hear of from many people, will be no hindrance to your pleaſing in good company; on the contrary, will be of uſe to you, if tempered by Good-breeding, and accompanied by the Graces. But then, I ſuppoſe your vivacity to be a vivacity of parts, and not a conſtitutional reſtleſſneſs; for the moſt diſagreeable compoſition that I know, in the world, is that of ſtrong animal ſpirits, with a cold genius. Such a fellow is troubleſomely active, frivolouſly buſy, fooliſhly lively; talks much, with little meaning, and laughs more, with leſs reaſon; whereas, in my opinion, a warm and lively genius, with a cool conſtitution, i the perfection of human nature."

Why may not a warm conſtitution, well regulated, be as much for the honour of human nature?—Without effort, there can be no virtue, and ſeldom genius without paſſions. From this, and ſeveral other of his Lordſhip's remarks, particularly what relates to the ladies, I ſhould not be ſurpriſed if his female readers were tempted to accuſe him of frigidity.

The tranſition from dreſs to expence was natural and eaſy, and his Lordſhip takes care to make the moſt of it, by uniting leſſons of order and oeconomy, with his exhortations againſt profuſion.

"Now that you are going a little more into the world," continues he, "I will take this occaſion to explain my intentions as to your future expences, that you may know what you have to expect from me, and make your plan accordingly. I ſhall neither deny nor grudge you any money, that may be neceſſary, for either your improvement or your pleaſures; I mean, the pleaſures of a rational Being. Under the head of Improvement, I mean the beſt Books, and the beſt Maſters, coſt what they will; I

alſo

alſo mean, all the expence of lodgings, coach, dreſs, ſervants, &c. which, according to the ſeveral places where you may be, ſhall be reſpectively neceſſary, to enable you to keep the beſt company. Under the head of rational Pleaſures, I comprehend, Firſt, proper charities, to real and compaſſionate objects of it; Secondly, proper preſents, to thoſe to whom you are obliged, or whom you deſire to oblige; Thirdly, a conformity of expence to that of the company which you keep; as in public ſpectacles; your ſhare of little entertainments; a few piſtoles at games of mere commerce; and other incidental calls of good company.

" The only two articles, which I will never ſupply, are, the profuſion of low riot, and the idle laviſhneſs of negligence and lazineſs. A fool ſquanders away, without credit or advantage to himſelf, more than a man of ſenſe ſpends with both. The latter employs his money as he does his time, and never ſpends a ſhilling of the one, nor a minute of the other, but in ſomething that is either uſeful or rationally pleaſing to himſelf or others. The former buys whatever he does not want, and does not pay for what he does want. He cannot withſtand the charms of a toy-ſhop: ſnuff-boxes, watches, heads of canes, &c. are his deſtruction. His ſervants and tradeſmen conſpire with his own indolence, to cheat him; and, in a very little time, he is aſtoniſhed, in the midſt of all the ridiculous ſuperfluities, to find himſelf in want of all the real comforts and neceſſaries of life.

" Without care and method, the largeſt fortune will not, and with them, almoſt the ſmalleſt will, ſupply all neceſſary expences. As far as you can poſſibly, pay ready money for every thing you buy, and avoid bills. Pay that money too yourſelf, and not through the hands of any ſervant, who always either ſtipulates poundage, or requires a preſent for his good word, as they call it. Where you muſt have bills (as for meat and drink, clothes, &c.) pay them

them regularly every month, and with your own hand. Never, from a miſtaken œconomy, buy a thing you do not want, becauſe it is cheap; or, from a ſilly pride, becauſe it is dear. Keep an account, in a book, of all that you receive, and of all that you pay; for no man who knows what he receives, and what he pays, ever runs out. I do not mean that you ſhould keep an account of the ſhillings and half crowns which you may ſpend in chair-hire, operas, *&c.* they are unworthy of the time, and of the ink, that they would conſume; leave ſuch *minutiæ* to dull, penny-wiſe fellows: but remember, in œconomy, as well as in every other part of life, to have the proper attention to proper objects, and the proper contempt for little ones. A ſtrong mind ſees things in their true proportions: a weak one views them through a magnifying medium; which, like the microſcope, makes an elephant of a flea; magnifies all little objects, but cannot receive great ones.

"I have known many a man paſs for a miſer, by ſaving a penny, and wrangling for two pence, who was undoing himſelf, at the ſame time, by living above his income, and not attending to eſſential articles, which were above his *portée*. The ſure characteriſtic of a ſound and ſtrong mind, is, to find, in every thing, thoſe certain bounds, *quos ultra citrave nequit conſiſtere rectum*. Theſe boundaries are marked out by a very fine line, which only good ſenſe and attention can diſcover; it is much too fine for vulgar eyes. In Manners, this line is Good-breeding; beyond it, is troubleſome ceremony; ſhort of it, is unbecoming negligence and inattention. In Morals, it divides oſtentatious Puritaniſm, from criminal Relaxation. In Religion, Superſtition from Impiety; and, in ſhort, every virtue from its kindred vice or weakneſs.—I think you have ſenſe enough to diſcover the line: keep it always in your eye, and learn to walk upon it; reſt upon Mr. Harte, and he will poize you, till you are able to go alone.

By

By the way, there are fewer people who walk well upon that line, than upon the ſlack rope; and therefore, a good performer ſhines ſo much the more."

His Lordſhip next encounters the Hydra prejudice, and introduces his arguments with an account of his own errors.

"You are now come to an age capable of reflection," obſerves he, "and I hope you will do, what, however, few people at your age do: exert it, for your own ſake, in the ſearch of truth and ſound knowledge. I will confeſs (for I am not unwilling to diſcover my ſecrets to you) that it is not many years ſince I have preſumed to reflect for myſelf. Till ſixteen or ſeventeen, I had no reflection; and, for many years after that, I made no uſe of what I had. I adopted the notions of the books I read, or the company I kept, without examining whether they were juſt or not; and I rather choſe to run the riſk of eaſy error, than to take the time and trouble of inveſtigating truth. Thus, partly from lazineſs, partly from diſſipation, and partly from the *mauvaiſe honte* of rejecting faſhionable notions, I was (as I have ſince found) hurried away by prejudices, inſtead of being guided by reaſon; and quietly cheriſh error, inſtead of ſeeking for truth. But, ſince I have taken the trouble of reaſoning for myſelf, and have had the courage to own that I do ſo, you cannot imagine how much my notions of things are altered, and in how different a light I now ſee them, from that in which I formerly viewed them, through the deceitful medium of prejudice or authority. Nay, I may poſſibly ſtill retain many errors, which, from long habit, have perhaps grown into real opinions; for it is very difficult to diſtinguiſh habits, early acquired and long entertained, from the reſult of our reaſon and reflection.

"Uſe and aſſert your own reaſon; reflect, examine, and analyſe every thing, in order to form a ſound and mature judgment; let no ἐτος εφη impoſe upon your underſtanding,

underſtanding, miſlead your actions, or dictate your converſation. Be early, what, if you are not, you will, when too late, wiſh you had been. Conſult your reaſon betimes: I do not ſay, that it will always prove an unerring guide; for human reaſon is not infallible: but it will prove the leaſt erring guide that you can follow. Books and converſation may aſſiſt it; but adopt neither, blindly and implicitly: try both by that beſt rule, which God has given to direct us, Reaſon. Of all the troubles, do not decline, as many people do, that of thinking. The herd of mankind can hardly be ſaid to think; their notions are almoſt all adoptive; and, in general, I believe it is better that it ſhould be ſo; as ſuch common prejudices contribute more to order and quiet, than their own ſeparate reaſonings would do, uncultivated and unimproved as they are. We have many of thoſe uſeful prejudices in this country, which I ſhould be very ſorry to ſee removed. The good Proteſtant conviction, that the Pope is both Antichriſt and the Whore of Babylon, is a more effectual preſervative in this country againſt popery, than all the ſolid and unanſwerable arguments of Chillingworth.

"The idle ſtory of the Pretender's having been introduced in a warming-pan, into the Queen's bed, though as deſtitute of all probability as of all foundation, has been much more prejudicial to the cauſe of Jacobitiſm, than all that Mr. Locke and others have written, to ſhow the unreaſonableneſs and abſurdity of the doctrines of indefeaſible hereditary right, and unlimited paſſive obedience. And that ſilly, ſanguine notion, which is firmly entertained here, that one Engliſhman can beat three Frenchmen, encourages, and has ſometimes enabled, one Engliſhman, in reality, to beat two.

"A Frenchman ventures his life with *pour l'honneur du Roi*; were you to change the object which he has been thought to have in view, and tell him that it was *pour le bien de la Patrie*, he would probably

run

run away. Such groſs local prejudices prevail with the herd of mankind; and do not impoſe upon cultivated, informed, and reflecting minds: but then there are notions equally falſe, though not ſo glaringly abſurd, which are entertained by people of ſuperior and improved underſtandings, merely for want of the neceſſary pains to inveſtigate, the proper attention to examine, and the penetration requiſite to determine the truth. Thoſe are the prejudices which I would have you guard againſt, by a manly exertion and attention of your reaſoning faculty. To mention one inſtance, of a thouſand that I could give you —It is a general prejudice, and has been propagated for theſe ſixteen hundred years, that Arts and Sciences cannot flouriſh under an abſolute government; and that genius muſt neceſſarily be cramped, where freedom is reſtrained. This ſounds plauſible, but is falſe in fact. Mechanic arts, as agriculture, manufacture, &c. will indeed be diſcouraged, where the profits and property are, from the nature of the government, inſecure. But why the deſpotiſm of a government ſhould cramp the genius of a mathematician, an aſtronomer, a poet, or an orator, I confeſs I never could diſcover. It may indeed deprive the poet, or the orator, of the liberty of treating of certain ſubjects in the manner they would wiſh; but it leaves them ſubjects enough to exert genius upon, if they have it."

This reaſoning is by no means concluſive, with reſpect to poetry and oratory at leaſt: the conſciouſneſs of being at liberty to treat every ſubject with freedom, can only give that boldneſs and fire of genius which characteriſes the true poet; the muſe ſickens at the very idea of conſtraint, and the orator can only find a proper ſtimulus, and proper objects for the exerciſe of his talents in a popular aſſembly, where national affairs are agitated without fear, and without controul, and where the applauſe of a nation, its honours, and its employments are his reward.

From

From combating prejudice, his lordſhip very wiſely proceeds to arm his ſon againſt the influence of example.

"Ill example," ſays he, "is of itſelf dangerous enough; but thoſe who give it, ſeldom ſtop there; they add their infamous exhortations and invitations; and, if they fail, they have recourſe to ridicule; which is harder for one of your age and inexperience to withſtand, than either of the former. Be upon your guard, therefore, againſt theſe batteries, which will all be played upon you.

"There is commonly, in young people, a facility that makes them unwilling to refuſe any thing that is aſked of them; a *mauvaiſe honte*, that makes them aſhamed to refuſe, and, at the ſame time, an ambition of pleaſing and ſhining in the company they keep; theſe ſeveral cauſes produce the beſt effect in good company, but the worſt in bad. If people had no vices but their own, few would have ſo many as they have. For my own part, I would ſooner wear other people's clothes than their vices; and they would ſit upon me juſt as well. I hope you will have none; but, if ever you have, I beg, at leaſt, they may be all your own. Vices of adoption are, of all others, the moſt diſgraceful and unpardonable."

After telling his ſon what to avoid, the Earl of Cheſterfield returns, as uſual, to teach him what he ſhould practiſe, with his wonted ſagacity and knowledge of the world.

"Flattering people behind their backs," ſays he, "in preſence of thoſe who, to make their own court, much more than for your ſake, will not fail to repeat, and even amplify the praiſe, to the party concerned, is an innocent piece of art. This is, of all flattery, the moſt pleaſing, and conſequently the moſt effectual. There are other, and many other inoffenſive arts of this kind, which are neceſſary in the courſe of the world, and which he who practiſes the earlieſt, will pleaſe the moſt, and riſe the ſooneſt.

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The ſpirits and vivacity of youth are apt to neglect them as uſeleſs, or reject them as troubleſome. But ſubſequent knowledge and experience of the world reminds us of their importance, commonly when it is too late. The principal of theſe things, is the maſtery of one's temper, and that coolneſs of mind, and ſerenity of countenance, which hinders us from diſcovering, by words, actions, or even looks, thoſe paſſions or ſentiments, by which we are inwardly moved or agitated; and the diſcovery of which, gives cooler and abler people ſuch infinite advantages over us, not only in great buſineſs, but in all the moſt common occurrences of life. A man who does not poſſeſs himſelf enough to hear diſagreeable things, without viſible marks of anger and change of countenance, or agreeable ones without ſudden burſts of joy, and expanſion of countenance, is at the mercy of every artful knave, or pert coxcomb: the former will provoke or pleaſe you by deſign, to catch unguarded words or looks; by which he will eaſily decypher the ſecrets of your heart, of which you ſhould keep the key yourſelf, and truſt it with no man living. The latter will, by his abſurdity, and without intending it, produce the ſame diſcoveries, of which other people will avail themſelves.

"You will ſay, poſſibly, that this coolneſs muſt be conſtitutional, and conſequently does not depend upon the will: and I will allow that conſtitution has ſome power over us; but I will maintain too, that people very often, to excuſe themſelves, very unjuſtly accuſe their conſtitutions. Care and reflection, if properly uſed, will get the better; and a man may as ſurely get a habit of letting his reaſon prevail over his conſtitution, as of letting, as moſt of people do, the latter prevail over the former. If you find yourſelf ſubject to ſudden ſtarts of paſſion, or madneſs, (for I ſee no difference between them, but in their duration) reſolve within yourſelf, at leaſt never to ſpeak one word, while you feel that emotion within you. Determine,

termine, too, to keep your countenance as unmoved and unembarraſſed as poſſible; which ſteadineſs you may get a habit of, by conſtant attention.

"I ſhould deſire nothing better, in any negociation, than to have to do with one of theſe men of warm, quick paſſions; which I would take care to ſet in motion. By artful provocations, I would extort raſh and unguarded expreſſions; and, by hinting at all the ſeveral things that I could ſuſpect, infallibly diſcover the true one, by the alteration it occaſioned in the countenance of the perſon. *Volto ſciolto con penſieri ſtretti* (to be open in countenance, but cloſe in mind), is a moſt uſeful maxim in buſineſs. It is ſo neceſſary at ſome games, ſuch as *Berlan*, *Quinze*, *&c.* that a man who had not the command of his temper, and countenance, would infallibly be undone by thoſe who had, even though they played fair. Whereas, in buſineſs, you always play with ſharpers; to whom, at leaſt, you ſhould give no fair advantages."

His Lordſhip, ſenſible he was now treading on ſlippery ground, attempts a defence of diſſimulation, by diſtinguiſhing it from ſimulation; but though his arguments are ſupported by two great authorities, and are, I believe, the beſt that could be produced on the ſubject, they are more ſophiſtical than ſolid, more puzzling than convincing; and not, in my opinion, unanſwerable: for it is impoſſible in many, nay, in moſt caſes, to diſſemble our intentions effectually without counterfeiting others, without ſimulating in ſome degree; and ſimulation is allowed to be a *ſtiletto*, a weapon both unjuſt and unlawful.

"It may be objected," ſays he, "that I am now recommending diſſimulation to you; I both own and juſtify it. It has been long ſaid, *Qui neſcit diſſimulare, neſcit regnare*: I go ſtill farther, and ſay, that without ſome diſſimulation no buſineſs can be carried on at all. It is *ſimulation* that is falſe, mean, and criminal: that is the cunning which Lord Bacon calls,

calls, crooked or left-handed wiſdom, and which is never made uſe of but by thoſe who have not true wiſdom. And the ſame great man ſays, that diſſimulation is only to hide our own cards; whereas ſimulation is put on in order to look into other people's. Lord Bolingbroke, in his "Idea of a patriot King," ſays, very juſtly, that ſimulation is a *ſtiletto*; not only an unjuſt but an unlawful weapon, and the uſe of it very rarely to be excuſed, never juſtified. Whereas diſſimulation is a ſhield, as ſecrecy is armour; and it is no more poſſible to preſerve ſecrecy in buſineſs, without ſome degree of diſſimulation, than it is to ſucceed in buſineſs without ſecrecy. He goes on, and ſays, that thoſe two arts, of diſſimulation and ſecrecy, are like the alloy mingled with pure ore: a little is neceſſary, and will not debaſe the coin below its proper ſtandard; but if more than little be employed (that is, ſimulation and cunning) the coin loſes its currency, and the coiner his credit.

"Make yourſelf abſolute maſter, therefore," continues he, "of your temper, and your countenance, ſo far, at leaſt, as that no viſible change do appear in either, whatever you may feel inwardly. This may be difficult, but it is by no means impoſſible; and, as a man of ſenſe never attempts impoſſibilities, on one hand, on the other, he is never diſcouraged by difficulties: on the contrary, he redoubles his induſtry and his diligence, he perſeveres, and infallibly prevails at laſt. In any point, which prudence bids you purſue, and which a manifeſt utility attends, let difficulties only animate your induſtry, not deter you from the purſuit. If one way has failed, try another; be active, perſevere, and you will conquer. Some people are to be reaſoned, ſome flattered, ſome intimidated, and ſome teazed into a thing; but, in general, all are to be brought into it at laſt, if ſkilfully applied to, properly managed, and indefatigably attacked in their ſeveral weak places. The time ſhould likewiſe be judiciouſly choſen; every man has his

mollia

mollia tempora, but that is far from being all day long; and you would chuse your time very ill, if you applied to a man about one business, when his head was full of another, or when his heart was full of grief, anger, or any other disagreeable sentiment.

"In order to judge of the inside of others, study your own; for men in general are very much alike; and though one has one prevailing passion, and another has another, yet their operations are much the same, and whatever engages or disgusts, pleases or offends you, in others, will, *mutatis mutandis*, engage, disgust, please, or offend others, in you. Observe with the utmost attention, all the operations of your own mind, the nature of your passions, and the various motives that determine your will; and you may, in a great degree, know all mankind. For instance; do you find yourself hurt and mortified, when another makes you feel his superiority, and your own inferiority, in knowledge, parts, rank, or fortune? You will certainly take great care not to make a person, whose good will, good word, interest, esteem, or friendship, you will gain, feel that superiority in you, in case you have it. If disagreeable insinuations, sly sneers, or repeated contradictions, teaze and irritate you, would you use them, where you wished to engage and please? Surely not; and I hope you wish to engage universally.

"The temptation of saying a smart and witty thing, or *bon mot*; and the malicious applause with which it is commonly received; has made people who can say them, and, still oftner, people who think they can, but cannot, and yet try, more enemies, and implacable ones too, than any one other thing that I know of. When such things, then, shall happen to be said at your expence, (as sometimes they certainly will) reflect seriously upon the sentiments of uneasiness, anger, and resentment, which they excite in you; and consider whether it can be prudent, by the same means, to excite the same

ſame ſentiment in others, againſt you. It is decided folly, to loſe a friend for a jeſt; but in my mind, it is not a much leſs degree of folly, to make an enemy of an indifferent, and neutral perſon, for the ſake of a *bon mot*. When things of this kind happen to be ſaid of you, the moſt prudent way is to ſeem not to ſuppoſe that they are meant at you, but to diſſemble and conceal whatever degree of anger you may feel inwardly; but, ſhould they be ſo plain, that you cannot be ſuppoſed ignorant of their meaning, to join in the laugh of the company againſt yourſelf; acknowledge the hit to be a fair one, and the jeſt a good one, and play off the whole thing in ſeeming good-humour: but by no means reply in the ſame way;—which only ſhews that you are hurt, and publiſhes the victory that you might have concealed. Should the thing ſaid, indeed, injure your honour, or moral character, there is but one proper reply; which I hope you will never have occaſion to make."

The ſyſtematic inſtructions having been interrupted for a time, by Mr. Stanhope's indiſpoſition, and other occaſional matters, his Lordſhip recommences them thus:

"Let us reſume our reflections upon Men, their characters, their manners; in a word, our reflections upon the World. They may help you to form yourſelf, and to know others. A knowledge very uſeful at all ages, very rare at yours: it ſeems as if it were nobody's buſineſs to communicate it to young men. Their Maſters teach them, ſingly, the languages, or the ſciences of their ſeveral departments; and are indeed generally incapable of teaching them the World; their Parents are often ſo too, or at leaſt neglect doing it; either from avocations, indifference, or from an opinion, that throwing them into the world (as they call it) is the beſt way of teaching it them. This laſt notion is in a great degree true; that is, the World can doubtleſs never be well known by theory; practice is abſolutely neceſſary: but, ſurely, it is of

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great use to a young man, before he sets out for that country, full of mazes, windings, and turnings, to have at least a general map of it, made by some experienced traveller.

"There is a certain dignity of Manners absolutely necessary, to make even the most valuable character either respected or respectable.

"Horse-play, romping, frequent and loud fits of laughter, jokes, waggery, and indiscriminate familiarity, will sink both merit and knowledge into a degree of contempt. They compose at most a merry fellow, and a merry fellow was never yet a respectable man. Indiscriminate familiarity, either offends your superiors, or else dubbs you their dependent, and led captain. It gives your inferiors, just, but troublesome and improper claims of equality. A joker is near akin to a buffoon; and neither of them is the least related to wit. Whoever is admitted or sought for, in company, upon any other account than that of his merit and manners, is never respected there, but only made use of. We will have such-a-one, for he sings prettily; we will invite such-a-one to a ball, for he dances well; we will have such-a-one at supper, for he is always joking and laughing; we will ask another, because he plays deep at all games, or because he can drink a great deal. These are all vilifying distinctions, mortifying preferences, and exclude all ideas of esteem and regard. Whoever *is had* (as it is called) in company, for the sake of any one thing singly, is singly that thing, and will never be considered in any other light; and consequently never respected, let his merits be what they will.

"This dignity of Manners, which I recommend so much to you, is not only as different from pride, as true courage is from blustering, or true wit from joking; but is absolutely inconsistent with it; for nothing vilifies and degrades more than pride. The pretensions of the proud man, are oftener treated with sneer and contempt, than with indignation: as we offer

offer ridiculouſly too little to a tradeſman, who aſks ridiculouſly too much for his goods; but we do not haggle with one who only aſks a juſt and reaſonable price.

"Abject flattery and indiſcriminate aſſentation degrade, as much as indiſcriminate contradiction and noiſy debate diſguſt. But a modeſt aſſertion of one's own opinion, and a complaiſant acquieſcence to other people's, preſerve dignity.

"Vulgar, low expreſſions, aukward motions and addreſs, vilify, as they imply either a very low turn of mind, or low education and low company.

"Frivolous curioſity about trifles, and a laborious attention to little objects, which neither require, nor deſerve, a moment's thought, lower a man; who from thence is thought (and not unjuſtly) incapable of greater matters. Cardinal de Retz, very ſagaciouſly, marked out Cardinal Chigi for a little mind, from the moment that he told him he had wrote three years with the ſame pen, and that it was an excellent good one ſtill.

"A certain degree of exterior ſerioufneſs in looks and motions, gives dignity, without excluding wit and decent chearfulneſs, which are always ſerious themſelves. A conſtant ſmirk upon the face, and a whiffling activity of the body, are ſtrong indications of futility. Whoever is in a hurry, ſhows that the thing he is about is too big for him. Haſte and hurry are very different things.

"I have only mentioned ſome of thoſe things which may, and do, in the opinion of the world, lower and ſink characters, in other reſpects valuable enough; but I have taken no notice of thoſe that affect and ſink the moral characters. They are ſufficiently obvious. A man who has patiently been kicked, may as well pretend to courage, as a man, blaſted by vices and crimes, may to dignity of any kind. But an exterior decency and dignity of manners, will even keep ſuch a man longer from ſinking, than otherwiſe

he would be: of such consequence is the το πρεπον, even though affected and put on! Pray read frequently, and with the utmost attention, nay get by heart if you can, that incomparable chapter in Cicero's Offices, upon the το πρεπον, or the *Decorum*. It contains whatever is necessary for the dignity of Manners.

"In my next," adds he, "I will send you a general map of Courts; a region yet unexplored by you; but which you are one day to inhabit. The ways are generally crooked and full of turnings, sometimes strewed with flowers, sometimes choaked up with briars; rotten ground and deep pits frequently lie concealed under a smooth and pleasing surface; all the paths are slippery, and every slip is dangerous. Sense and discretion must accompany you at your first setting out; but, notwithstanding those, till experience is your guide, you will every now and then step out of your way, or stumble."

The reflections on courts, that follow, are worthy of his Lordship's experience.

"Nothing in Courts," observes he, "is exactly as it appears to be; often very different; sometimes directly contrary. Interest, which is the real spring of every thing there, equally creates and dissolves friendships, produces and reconciles enmities; or rather, allows of neither real friendships nor enmities; for, as Dryden very justly observes, *Politicians neither love nor hate.* This is so true, that you may think you connect yourself with two friends to-day, and be obliged, to-morrow, to make your option between them as enemies: observe, therefore, such a degree of reserve with your friends, as not to put yourself in their power, if they should become your enemies; and such a degree of moderation with your enemies, as not to make it impossible for them to become your friends.

"Courts are, unquestionably, the seats of Politeness and Good-breeding; were they not so, they would be the seats of slaughter and desolation. Those who now smile upon, and embrace, would affront and

ſtab each other, if Manners did not interpoſe: but Ambition and Avarice, the two prevailing paſſions at Courts, found Diſſimulation more effectual than Violence; and Diſſimulation introduced that habit of Politeneſs, which diſtinguiſhes the Courtier from the Country Gentleman. In the former caſe, the ſtrongeſt body would prevail; in the latter, the ſtrongeſt mind.

"A man of parts and efficiency need not flatter every body at Court; but he muſt take great care to offend no body perſonally; it being in the power of very many to hurt him, who cannot ſerve him. Homer ſuppoſes a chain let down from Jupiter to the earth, to connect him with Mortals. There is, at all courts, a chain, which connects the Prince, or the Miniſter, with the Page of the back-ſtairs, or the Chambermaid. The King's Wife, or Miſtreſs, has an influence over him; a Lover has an influence over her; the Chambermaid, or the Valet de Chambre, has an influence over both; and ſo *ad infinitum*. You muſt, therefore, not break a link of that chain, by which you hope to climb up to the Prince.

"You muſt renounce Courts, if you will not connive at Knaves, and tolerate Fools. Their number makes them conſiderable: you ſhould as little quarrel, as connect yourſelf with either.

"Whatever you ſay or do at Court, you may depend upon it, will be known. The buſineſs of moſt of thoſe, who crowd levees and antichambers, being to repeat all that they ſee or hear, and a great deal that they neither ſee nor hear, according as they are inclined to the perſons concerned, or according to the wiſhes of thoſe to whom they hope to make their court. Great caution is therefore neceſſary; and if, to great caution, you can join ſeeming frankneſs and openneſs, you will unite what Machiavel reckons very difficult, but very neceſſary to be united; *volto ſciolto e penſieri ſtretti.*"

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The earl of Cheſterfield (ſuppoſing his ſon now pretty well informed in moſt things, and pretty much what he would have him to be, except in the ornamental qualities,) recapitulates what he has ſaid, and what he has done; enforces politeneſs by new arguments, and treats philoſophically and methodically on the ſcience of breeding.

"From the time that you have had life," ſays he, "it has been a principal and favourite object of mine, to make you as perfect as the imperfections of human nature will allow: in this view, I have grudged no pains nor expence in your education; convinced that Education, more than Nature, is the cauſe of that great difference which we ſee in the characters of men. While you were a child, I endeavoured to form your heart habitually to Virtue and Honour, before your underſtanding was capable of ſhowing you their beauty and utility. Thoſe principles, which you then got, like your grammar rules, only by rote, are now, I am perſuaded, fixed and confirmed by reaſon. And indeed they are ſo plain and clear, that they require but a very moderate degree of underſtanding, either to comprehend or practiſe them. Lord Shaftſbury ſays, very prettily, that he would be virtuous for his own ſake, though nobody were to know it; as he would be clean for his own ſake, tho' nobody were to ſee him. I have therefore, ſince you have had the uſe of your reaſon, never written to you upon thoſe ſubjects: they ſpeak beſt for themſelves: and I ſhould, now, juſt as ſoon think of warning you gravely not to fall into the dirt or the fire, as into diſhonour or vice. This view of mine, I conſider as fully attained. My next object was, ſound and uſeful Learning. My own care firſt, Mr. Harte's afterwards, and *of late* (I will own it to your praiſe) your own application, have more than anſwered my expectations in that particular; and, I have reaſon to believe, will anſwer even my wiſhes. All that remains for me then to wiſh, to recommend, to inculcate, to order, and to inſiſt upon, is Good-breeding; without which, all your other qualifications will be loſt, or

adorned, and, to a certain degree, unavailing. And here I fear, and have too much reaſon to believe, that you are greatly deficient."

He therefore enters regularly into the ſubject, with a definition.

"A friend of yours and mine has very juſtly defined Good-breeding to be, *the reſult of much good-ſenſe, ſome good-nature, and a little ſelf-denial for the ſake of others, and with a view to obtain the ſame indulgence from them.* Taking this for granted, (as I think it cannot be diſputed) it is aſtoniſhing to me, that any body, who has good-ſenſe and good-nature (and I believe you have both) can eſſentially fail in good-breeding. As to the modes of it, indeed, they vary according to perſons, and places, and circumſtances; and are only to be acquired by obſervation and experience; but the ſubſtance of it is every where and eternally the ſame. Good manners are, to particular ſocieties, what good morals are to ſociety in general; their cement, and their ſecurity. And, as laws are enacted to enforce good morals, or at leaſt to prevent the ill effects of bad ones; ſo there are certain rules of civility, univerſally implied and received, to enforce good manners, and puniſh bad ones. And indeed there ſeems to me to be leſs difference, both between the crimes and between the puniſhments, than at firſt one would imagine. The immoral man, who invades another man's property, is juſtly hanged for it; and the ill-bred man, who by his ill-manners, invades and diſturbs the quiet and comforts of private life, is by common conſent as juſtly baniſhed ſociety. Mutual complaiſances, attentions, and ſacrifices of little conveniencies, are as natural an implied compact between civilized people, as protection and obedience are between kings and ſubjects: whoever, in either caſe, violates that compact, juſtly forfeits all advantages ariſing from it. For my own part, I really think, that, next to the conſciouſneſs of doing a

good action, that of doing a civil one is the moſt pleaſing: and the epithet which I ſhould covet the moſt, next to that of Ariſtides, would be that of well-bred.—Thus much for good-breeding in general. I will now conſider ſome of the various modes and degrees of it.

"Very few, ſcarcely any, are wanting in the reſpect which they ſhould ſhew to thoſe whom they acknowledge to be infinitely their ſuperiors; ſuch as Crowned Heads, Princes, and public perſons of diſtinguiſhed and eminent poſts. It is the manner of ſhowing that reſpect which is different. The man of faſhion, and of the world, expreſſes it in its fulleſt extent; but naturally, eaſily, and without concern: whereas a man, who is not uſed to keep good company, expreſſes it aukwardly; one ſees that he is not uſed to it, and that it coſts him a great deal: but I never ſaw the worſt-bred man living, guilty of lolling, whiſtling, ſcratching his head, and ſuch like indecencies, in company that he reſpected. In ſuch companies, therefore, the only point to be attended to is, to ſhew that reſpect, which every body means to ſhow, in an eaſy, unembarraſſed, and graceful manner. This is what obſervation and experience muſt teach you.

"In mixed companies, whoever is admitted to make part of them, is, for the time at leaſt, ſuppoſed to be upon a footing of equality with the reſt; and, conſequently, as there is no one principal object of awe and reſpect, people are apt to take a greater latitude in their behaviour, and to be leſs upon their guard; and ſo they may, provided it be within certain bounds, which are upon no occaſion to be tranſgreſſed. But, upon theſe occaſions, tho' no one is intitled to diſtinguiſhed marks of reſpect, every one claims, and very juſtly, every mark of civility and good-breeding. Eaſe is allowed, but careleſſneſs and negligence are ſtrictly forbidden. If a man accoſts you, and talks to you ever ſo dully or

frivolouſly, it is worſe than rudeneſs, it is brutality, to ſhew him, by a manifeſt inattention to what he ſays, that you think him a fool or a blockhead, and not worth hearing. It is much more ſo with regard to women; who, of whatever rank they are, are intitled, in conſideration of their ſex, not only to an attentive, but an officious good-breeding from men. Their little wants, likings, diſlikes, preferences, antipathies, fancies, whims, and even impertinencies, muſt be officiouſly attended to, flattered, and, if poſſible, gueſſed at and anticipated, by a well-bred man. You muſt never uſurp to yourſelf thoſe conveniences and *agrémens* which are of common right; ſuch as the beſt places, the beſt diſhes, &c. but, on the contrary, always decline them yourſelf, and offer them to others; who, in their turns, will offer them to you: ſo that, upon the whole, you will, in your turn, enjoy your ſhare of your common right. It would be endleſs for me to enumerate all the particular inſtances in which a well-bred man ſhews his good-breeding in good company; and it would be injurious to you to ſuppoſe, that your own good ſenſe will not point them out to you; and then your own good-nature will recommend, and your ſelf-intereſt enforce the practice."

The obſervations that follow, upon the degree of good-breeding neceſſary between familiar friends, huſbands and wives, parents and children, deſerve the utmoſt attention: they are upon a ſubject of univerſal concern; they are equally applicable to all conditions; and a due obſervance of that decent good-breeding which they inculcate, would contribute much to the happineſs of mankind.

"There is a third ſort of good-breeding," adds he, "in which people are the moſt apt to fail, from a very miſtaken notion that they cannot fail at all. I mean, with regard to one's moſt familiar friends and acquaintances, or thoſe who really are our inferiors; and there, undoubtedly, a greater degree of eaſe is not

not only allowed, but proper, and contributes much to the comforts of a private, ſocial life. But that eaſe and freedom have their bounds too, which muſt by no means be violated. A certain degree of negligence and careleſſneſs becomes injurious and inſulting, from the real or ſuppoſed inferiority of the perſons: and that delightful liberty of converſation among a few friends, is ſoon deſtroyed, as liberty has often been, by being carried to licentiouſneſs. But example explains things beſt, and I will put a pretty ſtrong caſe. Suppoſe you and me alone together; I believe you will allow that I have as good a right to unlimited freedom in your company, as either you or I can poſſibly have in any other; and I am apt to believe, too, that you would indulge me in that freedom, as far as any body would. But notwithſtanding this, do you imagine that I ſhould think there were no bounds to that freedom? I aſſure you, I ſhould not think ſo; and I take myſelf to be as much tied down by a certain degree of good manners to you, as by other degrees of them to other people. Were I to ſhew you, by a manifeſt inattention to what you ſaid to me, that I was thinking of ſomething elſe the whole time; were I to yawn extremely, ſnore, or break wind, in your company, I ſhould think that I behaved myſelf to you like a beaſt, and ſhould not expect that you would care to frequent me. No. The moſt familiar habitudes, connections, and friendſhips, require a degree of good-breeding, elſe their intimacy will ſoon degenerate into a coarſe familiarity, infallibly productive of contempt or diſguſt. The beſt of us have our bad ſides; and it is as imprudent, as it is ill-bred, to exhibit them. I ſhall certainly not uſe ceremony with you; it would be miſplaced between us: but I ſhall certainly obſerve that degree of good-breeding with you, which is, in the firſt place, decent, and which, I am ſure, is abſolutely neceſſary to make us like one another's company long.

" I will ſay no more, now, upon this important ſubject of good-breeding; upon which I have already dwelt too long, it may be, for one letter; and upon which I ſhall frequently refreſh your memory hereafter: but I will conclude with theſe axioms.

" That the deepeſt learning, without good-breeding, is unwelcome and tireſome pedantry, and of uſe no where but in a man's own cloſet: and conſequently of little or no uſe at all.

" That a man, who is not perfectly well-bred, is unfit for good company, and unwelcome in it; will conſequently diſlike it ſoon, afterwards renounce it; and be reduced to ſolitude, or, what is worſe, low and bad company.

" That a man, who is not well-bred, is full as unfit for buſineſs as for company.

" Make then, my dear child, I conjure you, Good-breeding the great object of your thoughts and actions, at leaſt half the day. Obſerve carefully the behaviour and manners of thoſe who are diſtinguiſhed by their good-breeding; imitate, nay, endeavour to excel, that you may at leaſt reach them; and be convinced that good-breeding is, to all worldly qualifications, what charity is to all Chriſtian virtues. Obſerve how it adorns merit, and how often it covers the want of it. May you wear it to adorn, and not to cover you!"

He reſumes the ſubject thus:

" There is a natural good-breeding, which occurs to every man of common ſenſe, and is practiſed by every man of common good-nature. This good-breeding is general, independent of modes; and conſiſts in endeavours to pleaſe and oblige our fellow-creatures by all good offices, ſhort of moral duties. This will be practiſed by a good-natured American ſavage, as eſſentially as by the beſt bred European. But then, I do not take it to extend to the ſacrifice of our own conveniences, for the ſake of other people's. Utility introduced this ſecond ſort of

of good-breeding, as it introduced commerce; and eſtabliſhed a truck of the little *agrémens* and pleaſures of life. I ſacrifice ſuch a conveniency to you, you ſacrifice another to me; this commerce circulates, and every individual finds his account in it upon the whole.

"The third ſort of good-breeding is local, and is variouſly modified, in not only different countries, but in different towns in the ſame country. But it muſt be founded upon the two former ſorts: they are the matter; to which, in this caſe, Faſhion and Cuſtom only give the different ſhapes and impreſſions. Whoever has the two firſt ſorts, will eaſily acquire this third ſort of good breeding, which depends ſingly upon attention and obſervation. It is properly the poliſh, the luſtre, the laſt finiſhing ſtrokes of good-breeding. It is to be found only in capitals, and even there it varies: the good-breeding of Rome differing, in ſome things, from that of Paris; that of Paris, in others, from that of Madrid; and that of Madrid, in many things, from that of London. A man of ſenſe, therefore, carefully attends to the local manners of the reſpective places where he is, and takes for his models thoſe perſons whom he obſerves to be at the head of faſhion and good-breeding. He watches how they addreſs themſelves to their ſuperiors, how they accoſt their equals, and how they treat their inferiors; and lets none of thoſe little niceties eſcape him, which are to good-breeding, what the laſt maſterly touches are to a good picture; and which the vulgar have no notion of, but by which good judges diſtinguiſh the maſter. He attends even to their air, dreſs, and motions, and imitates them liberally, and not ſervilely; he copies, but does not mimic. Theſe perſonal graces are of very great conſequence. They anticipate the ſentiments, before merit can engage the underſtanding; they captivate the heart, and give riſe, I believe, to the extravagant notions

of charms and philters. Their effects were ſo ſurprizing, that they were reckoned ſupernatural. The moſt graceful and beſt-bred men, and the handſomeſt and genteeleſt women, give the moſt philters; and, as I verily believe, without the leaſt aſſiſtance of the Devil."

What follows is ſomewhat perſonal, but is ſtill ſufficiently connected with the ſyſtem to make part of it.

"Pray be not only well dreſſed," ſays his lordſhip, "but ſhining in your dreſs; let it have *du brillant*; I do not mean by a clumſy load of gold and ſilver, but by the taſte and faſhion of it. The women like, and require it; they think it an attention due to them: but, on the other hand, if your motions and carriage are not graceful, genteel, and natural, your fine clothes will only diſplay your aukwardneſs the more. But I am unwilling to ſuppoſe you ſtill aukward; for ſurely, by this time, you muſt have catched a good air in good company. When you went from hence you were not naturally aukward; but your aukwardneſs was adventitious and Weſtmonaſterial. Leipſig, I apprehend, is not the ſeat of the Graces; and I preſume you acquired none there. But now, [he was at Rome] if you will be pleaſed to obſerve what people of the firſt faſhion do with their legs and arms, heads and bodies, you will reduce yours to certain decent laws of motion. You danced pretty well here, and ought to dance very well before you come home; for what one is obliged to do ſometimes, one ought to be able to do well. Beſides, *la belle danſe donne du brillant à une jeune homme.* And you ſhould endeavour to ſhine. A calm ſerenity, negative merit and graces, do not become your age. You ſhould be *alert, adroit, vif*; be wanted, talked of, impatiently expected, and unwillingly parted with in company. I ſhould be glad to hear half a dozen women of faſhion ſay, *Ou eſt donc le petit Stanhope?*

Que

Que ne vient-il? Il faut avouer qu'il est aimable. All this I do not mean singly with regard to women as the principal object; but with regard to men, and with a view of making yourself considerable. For, with very small variations, the same things that please women please men: and a man, whose manners are softened and polished by women of fashion, and who is formed by them to an habitual attention and complaisance, will please, engage, and connect men, much easier and more than he would otherwise.

"You must be sensible," adds he, "that you cannot rise in the world, without forming connections, and engaging different characters to conspire in your point. You must make them your dependents, without their knowing it, and dictate to them while you seem to be directed by them. Those necessary connections can never be formed, or preserved, but by an uninterrupted series of complaisance, attentions, politeness, and some constraint. You must engage their hearts, if you would have their support; you must watch the *mollia tempora*, and captivate them by the *agrémens*, and charms of conversation. People will not be called out to your service, only when you want them; and if you expect to receive strength from them, they must receive either pleasure or advantage from you. Consider, therefore, your own situation in every particular, and judge whether it is not essentially your interest, by your own good-breeding to others, to secure theirs to you: and that, let me assure you, is the only way to secure it; for people will repay, and with interest too, inattention with inattention, neglect with neglect, and ill manners with worse; which may engage you in very disagreeable affairs.

"In the next place, your profession requires, more than any other, the nicest and most distinguished good-breeding. You will negotiate with very little success, if you do not, previously, by you:

your manners, conciliate and engage the affections of thoſe with whom you are to negotiate. Can you ever get into the confidence and the ſecrets of the Courts, where you may happen to reſide, if you have not thoſe pleaſing, inſinuating manners, which alone can procure them? Upon my word, I do not ſay too much, when I ſay, that ſuperior good-breeding, inſinuating manners, and genteel addreſs, are half your buſineſs.—Your Knowledge will have but very little influence upon the mind, if your Manners prejudice the heart againſt you; but, on the other hand, how eaſily will you *dupe* the underſtanding, where you have firſt engaged the heart? And hearts are, by no means, to be gained by that mere common civility, which every body practiſes. Bowing again to thoſe who bow to you, anſwering drily thoſe who ſpeak to you, and ſaying nothing offenſive to any body, is ſuch negative good-breeding, that it is only not being a brute; as it would be but a very poor commendation of any man's cleanlineſs, to ſay, that he did not ſtink. It is an active, chearful, officious, ſeducing good-breeding, that muſt gain you the good-will and firſt ſentiments of the men, and the affections of the women. You muſt carefully watch and attend to their paſſions, their taſtes, their little humours and weakneſſes, and *aller au devant*. You muſt do it, at the ſame time, with alacrity and *empreſſement*, and not as if you graciouſly condeſcended to humour their weakneſſes.

"For inſtance; ſuppoſe you invited any body to dine or ſup with you, you ought to recollect if you had obſerved that they had any favourite diſh, and take care to provide it for them: and when it came, you ſhould ſay, *You ſeemed to me, at ſuch and ſuch a place, to give this diſh a preference, and therefore I ordered it: This is the wine that I obſerved you liked, and therefore I procured ſome.* The more trifling theſe things are, the more they prove your attention for the perſon, and are conſequently the more engaging. Conſult your own breaſt, and recollect how theſe little attentions,

tions, when shown you by others, flatter that degree of self-love and vanity, which no man living is free from. Reflect how they incline and attract you to that person, and how you are propitiated afterwards to all which that person says or does. The same causes will have the same effects in your favour."

Nothing can be more happily imagined, to awaken the attention of a young man, than the following insinuation, or happier expressed than the allusion with which the paragraph concludes.

"Men," observes his Lordship, "have possibly as much vanity as women, though of another kind; and both art and good-breeding require, that, instead of mortifying, you should please and flatter it, by words and looks of approbation. Suppose (which is by no means improbable) that, at your return to England, I should place you near the person of some one of the Royal Family; in that situation, good-breeding, engaging address, adorned with all the graces that dwell at Courts, would very probably make you a favourite, and, from a favourite, a Minister: but all the knowledge and learning in the world, without them, never would. The penetration of Princes seldom goes deeper than the surface. It is the exterior that always engages their hearts; and I would never advise you to give yourself much trouble about their understandings. Princes in general (I mean those *Porphyrogenets* who are born and bred in Purple) are about the pitch of women; bred up like them, and are to be addressed and gained in the same manner. They always see, they seldom weigh. Your lustre, not your solidity, must take them; your inside will afterwards support and secure, what your outside has acquired. With weak people, and they undoubtedly are three parts in four of mankind, good-breeding, address, and manners, are every thing; they can go no deeper: but let me assure you, that they are a great deal, even with people of the best understandings.—Where the eyes are not pleased, and the heart is not flattered,

flattered, the mind will be apt to ſtand out. Be this right or wrong, I confeſs, I am ſo made myſelf. Aukwardneſs and ill-breeding ſhock me, to that degree, that where I meet with them, I cannot find in my heart to inquire into the intrinſic merit of that perſon; I haſtily decide in myſelf that he can have none; and am not ſure, that I ſhould not even be ſorry to know that he had any. I often paint you in my imagination, in your preſent *lontananza*; and, while I view you in the light of ancient and modern learning, uſeful and ornamental knowledge, I am charmed with the proſpect; but when I view you in another light, and repreſent you aukward, ungraceful, ill-bred, with vulgar air and manners, ſhambling towards me with inattention and *diſtractions*, I ſhall not pretend to deſcribe to you what I feel; but will do as a ſkilful painter did formerly, draw a veil before the countenance of the Father.

"I dare ſay," adds he, "you know already enough of Architecture, to know that the Tuſcan is the ſtrongeſt and moſt ſolid of all the Orders; but, at the ſame time, it is the coarſeſt and clumſieſt of them. Its ſolidity does extremely well for the foundation and baſe floor of a great edifice; but, if the whole building be Tuſcan, it will attract no eyes, it will ſtop no paſſengers, it will invite no interior examination; people will take it for granted, that the finiſhing, and furniſhing cannot be worth ſeeing, where the front is ſo unadorned and clumſy. But if, upon the ſolid Tuſcan foundation, the Doric, the Ionic, and the Corinthian Orders, riſe gradually with all their beauty, proportions, and ornaments, the fabric ſeizes the moſt incurious eye, and ſtops the moſt careleſs paſſenger; who ſolicits admiſſion as a favour, nay, often purchaſes it. Juſt ſo will it fare with your little fabric, which, at preſent, I fear, has more of the Tuſcan than of the Corinthian Order. You muſt abſolutely change the whole front, or nobody will knock at the door. The ſeveral parts, which muſt compoſe this new front, are elegant,

elegant, eaſy, natural, ſuperior good-breeding; an engaging addreſs; genteel motions; an inſinuating ſoftneſs in your looks, words, and actions."

The following deſcription is as artfully ludicrous, as the foregoing ſimile is elegantly engaging.

"I am ſure," ſays the affectionate father, "you would do a great deal for my ſake; and therefore conſider, at your return here, what a diſappointment and concern it would be to me, if I could not ſafely depute you to do the honours of my houſe and table; and if I ſhould be aſhamed to preſent you to thoſe who frequent both. Should you be aukward, inattentive, and *diſtrait*, and happen to meet Mr. L** at my table, the conſequences of that meeting muſt be fatal; you would run your heads againſt each other, cut each other's fingers inſtead of your meat, or die by the precipitate infuſion of ſcalding ſoup.

"I have often aſſerted," continues he, "that the profoundeſt learning, and the politeſt manners, were by no means incompatible, though ſo ſeldom found united in the ſame perſon; and I have engaged myſelf to exhibit you, as a proof of the truth of this aſſertion. Should you, inſtead of that, happen to diſprove me, the concern indeed will be mine, but the loſs will be yours. Lord Bolingbroke is a ſtrong inſtance on my ſide of the queſtion; he joins, to the deepeſt erudition, the moſt elegant politeneſs and good-breeding that ever any Courtier and Man of the World was adorned with. And Pope very juſtly called him All-accompliſhed St. John, with regard to his knowledge and his manners. He had, it is true, his faults; which proceed from unbounded ambition, and impetuous paſſions; but they have now ſubſided by age and experience: and I can wiſh you nothing better than to be, what he is now, without being what he has been formerly. His addreſs pre-engages, his eloquence perſuades, and his knowledge informs, all who approach him. Upon the whole, I do deſire, and inſiſt, that, from after dinner till you go to bed, you

make

make good-breeding, addreſs, and manners, your ſerious object and your only care. Without them, you will be nobody; with them you may be any thing."

From the elegancies that more particularly relate to the perſon, the Earl of Cheſterfield proceeds to thoſe of the mind: elegance of ſtyle, public ſpeaking, and all the graces of oratory.

"Every rational Being," ſays he, "I take it for granted, propoſes to himſelf ſome object more important than mere reſpiration and obſcure animal exiſtence. He deſires to diſtinguiſh himſelf among his fellow-creatures; and, *alicui negotio intentus, præclari facinoris, aut artis bonæ famam quærit.* Cæſar, when embarking, in a ſtorm, ſaid, that it was not neceſſary he ſhould live; but that it was abſolutely neceſſary he ſhould get to the place where he was going. And Pliny leaves mankind this only alternative; either of doing what deſerves to be written, or of writing what deſerves to be read. As for thoſe who do neither, *eorum vitam mortemque juxta æſtumo; quoniam de utraque ſiletur.* You have, I am convinced, one or both of theſe objects in view; but you muſt know, and uſe the neceſſary means, or your purſuit will be vain and frivolous. In either caſe *ſapere eſt principium et fons*; but it is by no means all. That knowledge muſt be adorned, it muſt have luſtre as well as weight, or it will be oftener taken for Lead than for Gold. Knowledge you have, and will have: I am eaſy upon that article. But my buſineſs as your friend, is not to compliment you upon what you have, but to tell you with freedom what you want; and I muſt tell you, plainly, that I fear you want every thing but knowledge.

"I have written to you ſo often upon Good-breeding, Addreſs, *les maniéres liantes*, the Graces, *&c.* that I ſhall confine this letter to another ſubject, pretty near a-kin to them, and which, I am ſure, you are full as deficient in; I mean, Style.

"Style

" Style is the dreſs of thoughts; and let them be ever ſo juſt, if your ſtyle is homely, coarſe, and vulgar, they will appear to as much diſadvantage, and be as ill received, as your perſon, though ever ſo well proportioned, would, if dreſſed in rags, dirt, and tatters. It is not every underſtanding that can judge of matter; but every ear can and does judge, more or leſs, of ſtyle: and were I either to ſpeak or write to the public, I ſhould prefer moderate matter, adorned with all the beauties and elegancies of ſtyle, to the ſtrongeſt matter in the world, ill-worded, and ill-delivered.—Your buſineſs is, Negociation abroad, and Oratory in the Houſe of Commons at home. What figure can you make in either caſe, if your ſtyle be inelegant, I do not ſay bad? Imagine yourſelf writing an office-letter to a Secretary of State, which letter is to be read by the whole Cabinet Council, and very poſſibly, afterwards, laid before Parliament; any one barbariſm, ſoleciſm, or vulgariſm in it, would, in a very few days, circulate through the whole kingdom, to your diſgrace and ridicule. For inſtance; I will ſuppoſe you had written the following letter from the Hague, to the Secretary of State at London; and leave you to ſuppoſe the conſequences of it.

" My Lord,

" I *had*, laſt night, the honour of your Lordſhip's letter of the 24th; and will *ſet about doing* the orders contained *therein*; and *if ſo be* that I can get that affair done by the next poſt, I will not fail *for to* give your Lordſhip an account of it by *next poſt*. I have told the French Miniſter, *as how, that if* that affair be not ſoon concluded, your Lordſhip will think it *all long of him*; and that he muſt have neglected *for to* have wrote to his Court about it. I muſt beg leave to put your Lordſhip in mind, *as how*, that I am now full three quarters in arrear; and if *ſo be* that I do not very ſoon receive at leaſt one half year, I ſhall *cut a very bad figure*; for *this here* place is very dear. I

ſhall

ſhall be *vaſtly beholden* to your Lordſhip for *that there* mark of your favour; and ſo I *reſt* or *remain*. Your, *&c.*

" You will tell me, poſſibly, that this is a *caricatura* of an illiberal and inelegant ſtyle; I will admit it: but aſſure you, at the ſame time, that a diſpatch with leſs than half theſe faults would blow you up for ever. It is by no means ſufficient to be free from faults, in ſpeaking and writing; but you muſt do both correctly and elegantly. In faults of this kind, it is not *ille optimus qui minimis arguetur*. But he is unpardonable who has any at all, becauſe it is his own fault. He need only attend to, obſerve and imitate the beſt authors.

" It is a very true ſaying, that a man muſt be born a Poet, but that he may make himſelf an Orator; [this ſaying has been already conſidered] and the very firſt principle of an Orator is, to ſpeak, his own language, particularly, with the utmoſt purity and elegancy. A man will be forgiven, even great errors, in a foreign language; but in his own, even the leaſt ſlips are juſtly laid hold of and ridiculed.

" A perſon of the Houſe of Commons, ſpeaking two years ago upon naval affairs, aſſerted, that we had then the fineſt navy *upon the face of the yearth*. This happy mixture of blunder and vulgariſm, you may eaſily imagine, was matter of immediate ridicule;—but, I can aſſure you, that it continues ſo ſtill, and will be remembered as long as he lives and ſpeaks. Another, ſpeaking in defence of a gentleman, upon whom a cenſure was moved, happily ſaid, that he thought that gentleman was more *liable* to be thanked and rewarded, than cenſured. You know, I preſume, that *liable* can never be uſed in a good ſenſe.

" You have with you three or four of the beſt Engliſh Authors, Dryden, Atterbury, and Swift; read them with the utmoſt care, and with a particular view to their language; and they may poſſibly correct that *curious infelicity of diction*, which you acquired at Weſtminſter. Mr. Harte excepted, I will admit that you

you have met with very few Engliſh abroad, who could improve your ſtyle; and with many, I dare ſay, who ſpeak as ill as yourſelf, and it may be worſe; but, therefore, you muſt take the more pains, and conſult your authors, and Mr. Harte, the more. I need not tell you how attentive the Romans and Greeks, particularly Athenians, were to this object. It is alſo a ſtudy among the Italians and the French, witneſs their reſpective Academies and Dictionaries, for improving and fixing their languages. To our ſhame be it ſpoken, it is leſs attended to here than in any polite country; but that is no reaſon why you ſhould not attend to it; on the contrary, it will diſtinguiſh you the more. Cicero ſays, very truly, that it is glorious to excel other men in that very article, in which men excel brutes; *ſpeech.*

"Conſtant experience has ſhown me, that great purity and elegance of ſtyle, with a graceful elocution, cover a multitude of faults, in either a ſpeaker or a writer. For my own part, I confeſs (and I believe moſt people are of my mind) that if a ſpeaker ſhould ungracefully mutter or ſtammer out to me the ſenſe of an angel, deformed by barbariſms and ſoleciſm, or larded with vulgariſms, he ſhould never ſpeak to me a ſecond time, if I could help it. Gain the heart, or you gain nothing; the eyes and the ears are the only roads to the heart. Merit and knowledge will not gain hearts, though they will ſecure them when gained. Pray have that truth ever in your mind. Engage the eyes, by your addreſs, air, and motions; ſooth the ears, by the elegance and harmony of your diction: the heart will certainly follow; and the whole man, or woman, will as certainly follow the heart. I muſt repeat it to you, over and over again, that, with all the knowledge which you may have at preſent, or hereafter acquire; and with all the merit that ever man had, if you have not a graceful addreſs, liberal and engaging manners, a prepoſſeſſing air, and a good degree of eloquence in ſpeaking and writing, you will

will be nobody: but will have the daily mortification of ſeeing people, with not one tenth part of your merit and knowledge, get the ſtart of you, and diſgrace you, both in company and in buſineſs.

"You have read Quintilian; the beſt book in the world to form an Orator: pray read *Cicero, de Oratore*; the beſt book in the world to finiſh one. Tranſlate and retranſlate, from and to Latin, Greek, and Engliſh; make yourſelf a pure and elegant Engliſh ſtyle: it requires nothing but application."

The nature of our conſtitution makes Eloquence more uſeful, and more neceſſary, in this country, than in any other in Europe. A certain degree of good ſenſe and knowledge is requiſite for that, as well as for every thing elſe; but beyond that, the purity of diction, the elegancy of ſtyle, the harmony of periods, a pleaſing elocution, and a graceful action, are the things which a public ſpeaker ſhould attend to the moſt; becauſe his audience certainly do underſtand them the beſt: or rather indeed they underſtand little elſe. The late Lord Chancellor Cowper's ſtrength, as an Orator, lay by no means in his reaſonings, for he often hazarded very weak ones. But ſuch was the purity and elegancy of his ſtyle, ſuch the propriety and charms of his elocution, and ſuch the gracefulneſs of his action, that he never ſpoke without univerſal applauſe: the ears and the eyes gave him up the hearts and the underſtandings of the audience. On the contrary, the late Lord Townſhend always ſpoke materially, with argument and knowledge, but never pleaſed. Why? His diction was not only inelegant, but frequently ungrammatical, always vulgar; his cadences falſe, his voice unharmonious, and his action ungraceful. Nobody heard him with patience; and the young fellows uſed to joke upon him, and repeat his inaccuracies. The late Duke of Argyle, though the weakeſt reaſoner, was the moſt pleaſing ſpeaker I ever knew in my life. He charmed, he warmed, he forceably raviſhed

vished the audience; not by his matter certainly, but by his manner of delivering it. A most genteel figure, a graceful noble air, an harmonious voice, an elegancy of style, and a strength of emphasis, conspired to make him the most affecting, persuasive, and applauded speaker, I ever saw. I was captivated like others; but when I came home, and coolly considered what he had said, stripped of all those ornaments in which he had dressed it, I often found the matter flimsy, the arguments weak, and I was convinced of the power of those adventitious concurring circumstances, which the ignorance of mankind only calls trifling ones.

"You will be of the House of Commons," added he, "as soon a, you are of age; and you must first make a figure there, if you would make a figure, or a fortune, in your country. This you can never do without that correctness and elegancy in your language, which you now seem to neglect, and which you have entirely to learn. Fortunately for you, it is to be learned. Care and observation will do it; but do not flatter yourself, that all the knowledge, sense, and reasoning in the world will ever make you a popular and applauded speaker, without the ornaments and the graces of style, elocution, and action. Sense and argument, though coarsely delivered, will have their weight in a private conversation, with two or three people of sense; but in a public assembly they will have none, if naked and destitute of the advantages I have mentioned. Cardinal De Retz observes, very justly, that every numerous assembly is a mob; influenced by their passions, humours, and affections, which nothing but eloquence ever did, or ever can engage. This is so important a consideration for every body in this country, and more particularly for you, that I earnestly recommend it to your most serious care and attention. Mind your diction, in whatever language you either write or speak; contract a habit of correctness and elegance.

Consider

Conſider your ſtyle, even in the freeſt converſation, and moſt familiar letters. After, at leaſt, if not before, you have ſaid a thing, reflect if you could not have ſaid it better. Where you doubt of the propriety or elegancy of a word or a phraſe, conſult ſome good dead, or living authority in that language. Uſe yourſelf to tranſlate, from various languages, into Engliſh: correct thoſe tranſlations till they ſatisfy your ear, as well as your underſtanding. And be convinced of this truth, that the beſt ſenſe and reaſon in the world will be as unwelcome in a public aſſembly, without theſe ornaments, as they will in public companies, without the aſſiſtance of manners and politeneſs. If you will pleaſe people, you muſt pleaſe them in their own way: and, as you cannot make them what they ſhould be, you muſt take them as they are. I repeat it again, they are only to be taken by *agrémens*, and by what flatter their ſenſes and their hearts."

His Lordſhip continues, and even in ſome meaſure repeats, his admonitions with regard to ſtyle and parliamentary eloquence, ſupporting them by his own example and experience.

"It is now above forty years," ſays he, "ſince I have never ſpoken, nor written one ſingle word, without giving myſelf at leaſt one moment's time to conſider, whether it was a good one or a bad one, and whether I could not find out a better in its place. An unharmonious and rugged period, at this time, ſhocks my ears; and I, like all the reſt of the world, will willingly exchange, and give up ſome degree of rough ſenſe, for a good degree of pleaſing ſound. I will freely and truly own to you, without either vanity or falſe modeſty, that whatever reputation I have acquired, as a ſpeaker, is more owing to my conſtant attention to my diction, than to my matter, which was neceſſarily juſt the ſame of other people's. When you come into parliament, your reputation as a ſpeaker will depend much more upon your words, and

your periods, than upon the subject. The same matter occurs equally to every body of common-sense, upon the same question; the dressing it well, is what excites the attention and admiration of the audience.

"It is in Parliament that I have set my heart upon your making a figure; it is there that I want to have you justly proud of yourself, and make me justly proud of you. This means that you must be a good speaker there; I use the word *must*, because I know you may if you will. The vulgar, who are always mistaken, look upon a Speaker and a Comet with the same astonishment and admiration, taking them both for præternatural phenomena. This error discourages many young men from attempting that character; and good speakers are willing to have their talents considered as something very extraordinary, if not a peculiar gift of God to his elect. But let you and me analyse and simplify this good speaker; let us strip him of those adventitious plumes, with which his own pride, and the ignorance of others have decked him; and we will find the true definition of him to be no more than this—A man of good common sense, who reasons justly, and expresses himself elegantly, upon that subject upon which he speaks. There is, surely, no witchcraft in this. A man of sense, without a superior and astonishing degree of parts, will not talk nonsense upon any subject; nor will he, if he has the least taste or application, talk inelegantly. What then does all this mighty art and mystery of speaking in Parliament amount to?—Why, no more than this, That the man who speaks in the House of Commons, speaks in that House and to four hundred people, that opinion, upon a given subject, which he would make no difficulty of speaking in any house in England, round the fire, or at table, to any fourteen people whatsoever; better judges, perhaps, and severer critics of what he

says,

ſays, than any fourteen gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons.

" I have ſpoken frequently in Parliament, and not always without ſome applauſe; and therefore, I can aſſure you from my experience, that there is very little in it. The elegancy of the ſtyle, and the turn of the periods, make the chief impreſſion upon the hearers. Give them but one or two round and harmonious periods in a ſpeech, which they will retain and repeat; and they will go home as well ſatisfied, as people do from an Opera, humming all the way one or two favourite tunes that have ſtruck their ears and were eaſily caught. Moſt people have ears, but few have judgment: tickle thoſe ears, and, depend upon it, you will catch their judgments, ſuch as they are.

" Cicero, conſcious that he was at the top of his profeſſion, (for in his time Eloquence was a profeſſion) in order to ſet himſelf off, defines, in his Treatiſe *de Oratore*, an Orator to be ſuch a man as never was, nor never will be; and by this fallacious argument, ſays, that he muſt know every art and ſcience whatſoever, or how ſhall he ſpeak upon them: But with ſubmiſſion to ſo great an authority, my definition of an Orator is extremely different from, and I believe much truer than his. I call that man an Orator, who reaſons juſtly, and expreſſes himſelf elegantly upon whatever ſubject he treats. Problems in Geometry, Equations in Algebra, Proceſſes in Chemiſtry, and Experiments in Anatomy, are never, that I have heard of, the objects of Eloquence; and therefore, I humbly conceive, that a man may be a very fine ſpeaker, and yet know nothing of Geometry, Algebra, Chemiſtry, or Anatomy. The ſubjects of all Parliamentary debates, are ſubjects of common ſenſe ſingly."

The Earl of Cheſterfield ſuppoſing, and not without reaſon, that he had now reduced parliamentary eloquence to the level of his ſon's capacity, concludes his

his reasonings on Oratory with the character of Lord Bolingbroke, as he had formerly done those upon Address with that of the Duke of Marlborough.

"Lord Clarendon, in his history," observes he, "says of Mr. John Hampden, *that he had a head to contrive, a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute, any mischief.* I shall not now enter into the justness of this character of Mr. Hampden, to whose brave stand against the illegal demand of ship-money, we owe our present liberties; but I mention it to you as the character, which, with the alteration of one single word, *Good*, instead of *Mischief*, I would have you aspire to, and use your utmost endeavours to deserve. The head to contrive, God must to a certain degree have given you; but it is in your own power greatly to improve it, by study, observation, and reflection. As for the *tongue to persuade*, it wholly depends upon yourself; and without it the best head will contrive to very little purpose. The hand to execute, depends likewise, in my opinion, in a great measure upon yourself. Serious reflection will always give courage in a good cause; and the courage arising from reflection is of a much superior nature to the animal and constitutional courage of a foot-soldier. The former is steady and unshaken, where the *nodus* is *dignus vindice*; the latter is oftener improperly than properly exerted, but always brutally.

"The second member of my text (to speak ecclesiastically) shall be the subject of my following discourse; *the tongue to persuade*,—as judicious Preachers recommend those virtues, which they think their several audiences want the most, such as truth and continence, at Court; disinterestedness, in the City; and sobriety, in the Country.

"You must certainly, in the course of your little experience, have felt the different effects of elegant and inelegant speaking. Do you not suffer, when people accost you in a stammering or hesitating manner; in an untuneful voice, with false accents and

cadences; puzzling and blundering through ſoleciſms, barbariſms, and vulgariſms; miſplacing even their bad words, and inverting all method? Does not this prejudice you againſt their matter, be it what it will; nay, even againſt their perſons? I am ſure it does me. On the other hand, do you not feel yourſelf inclined, prepoſſeſſed, nay even engaged in favour of thoſe who addreſs you in the direct contrary manner? The effects of a correct and adorned ſtyle, of method and perſpicuity, are incredible, towards perſuaſion; they often ſupply the want of reaſon and argument; but, when uſed in the ſupport of reaſon and argument, they are irreſiſtible. The French attend very much to the purity and elegance of their ſtyle, even in common converſation; inſomuch, that it is a character, to ſay of a man, *qu'il narre bien.* Their converſations frequently turn upon the delicacies of their language, and an Academy is employed in fixing it. The *Cruſca*, in Italy, has the ſame object; and I have met with very few Italians, who did not ſpeak their own language correctly and elegantly. How much more neceſſary is it for an Engliſhman to do ſo, who is to ſpeak it in a public aſſembly, where the laws and liberties of his country are the ſubjects of his deliberation? The tongue that would perſuade there, muſt not content itſelf with mere articulation. You know what pains Demoſthenes took to correct his naturally bad elocution; you know that he declaimed by the ſea-ſide in ſtorms, to prepare himſelf for the noiſe of the tumultuous aſſemblies he was to ſpeak to; and you can now judge of the correctneſs and elegance of his ſtyle. He thought all theſe things of conſequence, and he thought right; pray do you think ſo too? It is of the utmoſt conſequence to you to be of that opinion. If you have the leaſt defect in your elocution, take the utmoſt care and pains to correct it. Do not neglect your ſtyle, whatever language you ſpeak in, or whoever you ſpeak to; were it your footman. Seek always for the beſt words

an

and the happiest expressions you can find. Do not content yourself with being barely understood; but adorn your thoughts, and dress them as you would dress your person; which, however well proportioned it might be, it would be very improper and indecent to exhibit naked, or even worse dressed than people of your sort are.

"I have sent you Lord Bolingbroke's book on the Spirit of Patriotism. I desire that you will read it over and over again, with particular attention to the style, and to all those beauties of Oratory with which it is adorned. Till I read that book, I confess I did not know all the extent and powers of the English language. Lord Bolingbroke has both a tongue and a pen to persuade; his manner of speaking in private conversation, is full as elegant as his writings; whatever subject he either speaks or writes upon, he adorns with the most splendid eloquence; not a studied or laboured eloquence, but such a flowing happiness of diction, which (from care perhaps at first) is become so habitual to him, that even his most familiar conversations, if taken down in writing, would bear the Press, without the least correction either as to the method or style. If his conduct, in the former part of his life, had been equal to all his natural and acquired talents, he would most justly have merited the epitaph of all-accomplished. He is himself sensible of his past errors: those violent passions, which seduced him in his youth, have now subsided by age; and, take him as he is now, the character of all-accomplished is more his due than any man's I ever knew in my life.

"But he has been a most mortifying instance of the violence of human passions, and of the weakness of the most exalted human reason. His virtues and his vices, his reason and his passions, did not blend themselves by a gradation of tints, but formed a shining and sudden contrast.

"Here the darkest, there the most splendid colours, and both rendered more shining from their

proximity. Impetuoſity, exceſs, and almoſt extravagancy, characteriſed not only his paſſions, but even his ſenſes.

" Notwithſtanding the diſſipation of his youth, and the tumultuous agitation of his middle age, he has an infinite fund of various and almoſt univerſal knowledge, which, from the cleareſt and quickeſt conception, and happieſt memory, that ever man was bleſſed with, he always carries about him. It is his pocket-money, and he never has occaſion to draw upon a book for any ſum. He excels more particularly in Hiſtory, as his hiſtorical works plainly prove. —The relative Political and Commercial intereſts of every country in Europe, particularly of his own, are better known to him, than perhaps to any man in it; but how ſteadily he has purſued the latter, in his public conduct, his enemies, of all parties and denominations, tell with joy.

" He engaged young, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in buſineſs; and his penetration was almoſt intuition. I am old enough to have heard him ſpeak in Parliament. And I remember, that, though prejudiced againſt him by party, I felt all the force and charms of his eloquence. Like Belial, in Milton, " he " made the worſe appear the better cauſe." All the internal and external advantages and talents of an Orator are undoubtedly his. Figure, voice, elocution, knowledge; and, above all, the pureſt and moſt florid diction, with the juſteſt metaphors, and happieſt images, had raiſed him to the poſt of Secretary at War, at four-and-twenty years old; an age at which others are hardly thought fit for the ſmalleſt employments.

" During his long exile in France, he applied himſelf to ſtudy with characteriſtical ardour; and there he formed, and chiefly executed the plan of his great Philoſophical work. The common bounds of human knowledge are too narrow for his warm and aſpiring imagination. He muſt go, *extra flammantia*

mœnia

mænia Mundi, and explore the unknown and unknowable regions of Metaphyſics; which open an unbounded field for the excurſions of an ardent imagination; where endleſs conjectures ſupply the defect of unattainable knowledge, and too often uſurp both its name and its influence.

" He has had a very handſome perſon, with a moſt engaging addreſs in his air and manners: he has all the dignity and good-breeding which a man of quality ſhould or can have, and which ſo few, in this country at leaſt, really have.

" He profeſſes himſelf a Deiſt; believing in a general Providence, but doubting of, though by no means rejecting (as is commonly ſuppoſed) the immortality of the ſoul, and a future ſtate.

" Upon the whole, of this extraordinary man, what can we ſay, but alas, poor human nature!"

To this ſtriking and maſterly character, in which his Lordſhip diſplays at once his judgment and his eloquence, he adds the following pathetic exhortation, with which I ſhall conclude what I have taken the liberty to call the *third part* of the Syſtem of Education.

" In your deſtination," ſays he, " you will have frequent occaſions to ſpeak in public; to Princes and States, abroad; to the Houſe of Commons, at home; judge then, whether Eloquence is neceſſary for you or not; not only common Eloquence, which is rather free from faults, than adorned by beauties; but the higheſt, the moſt ſhining degree of Eloquence. For God's ſake, have this object always in your view, and in your thoughts. Tune your tongue early to perſuaſion; and let no jarring, diſſonant accents ever fall from it. Eloquence and good-breeding, alone, with an exceeding ſmall degree of parts and knowledge, will carry a man a great way; with your parts and knowledge, then, how far will they not carry you!—They are the wings upon which you

muſt ſoar above other people; without them you will only crawl with the dull maſs of mankind."

CHAP. VIII.

The fourth Part of the Syſtem of Education.

THE Earl of Cheſterfield's methodical inſtructions, and conſequently the Syſtem of Education, may be ſaid to end with the character of Lord Bolingbroke; for Mr. Stanhope being now eighteen years old, his Lordſhip afterwards gives him the appellation of *friend*, and treats him as ſuch: but, as theſe friendly letters have for ſome time a particular relation to the ſyſtem, I ſhall conſider them as part of it; and certainly not the leaſt valuable, as they introduce thoſe precepts into life and buſineſs, which had been formerly delivered as the reſult of experience and reflection.

In the two foregoing chapters, I have omitted every thing but the eſſential matter, which I diſpoſed in ſuch order as I thought would contribute moſt to the pleaſure and improvement of the reader; to have preſerved the dates would therefore have produced confuſion and perplexity. But in this chapter, for the ſake of elucidation, I ſhall frequently retain the dates, and as many other particulars as are conſiſtent with my plan; omitting, however, ſuch letters and circumſtances as I judge foreign to it.

By the date of the following letter, the reader will obſerve, that the inſtructions contained in the two foregoing chapters occupied about two years of his Lordſhip's life.

London, Dec. 26, O. S. 1749.

" My dear Friend,

" THE New-year is the ſeaſon, in which cuſtom ſeems more particularly to authoriſe civil and harm-

leſs

less Lies, under the name of compliments. People reciprocally profess wishes, which they seldom form; and concern which they seldom feel. This is not the case between you and me, where truth leaves no room for compliments.

"*Dii tibi dent annos, de te nam cætera sumes*; was said formerly to one, by a man who certainly did not think it. With the variation of one word only, I will with great truth say it to you. I will make the first part conditional, by changing, in the second, the *nam* into *si*. May you live, as long as you are fit to live, but no longer! or, may you rather die, before you cease to be fit to live, than after! My true tenderness for you, makes me think more of the manner, than of the length of your life, and forbids me to wish it prolonged, by a single day, that should bring guilt, reproach, and shame upon you. I have not malice enough in my nature, to wish that to my greatest enemy. You are the principal object of all my cares, the only object of all my hopes: I have now reason to believe, that you will reward the former, and answer the latter; in that case, may you live long, for you must live happy; *de te nam cætera sumes*. Conscious virtue is the only solid foundation of all happiness; for riches, power, rank, or whatever, in the common acceptation of the word, is supposed to constitute happiness, will never quiet, much less cure, the inward pangs of guilt. To that main wish, I will add those of the good old nurse of Horace, in his Epistle to Tibullus: *Sapere*, you have it in a good degree already. *Et fari ut possit quæ sentiat*. Have you that? More, much more, is meant by it, than common speech, or mere articulation. I fear that still remains to be wished for, and I earnestly wish it you. *Gratia* and *Fama* will inevitably accompany the above-mentioned qualifications. The *Valetudo* is the only one that is not in your own power, Heaven alone can grant it you, and may it do so abundantly! As for the *mundus*

victus, non deficiente crumenâ, do you deſerve, and I will provide them.

It is with the greateſt pleaſure that I conſider the fair proſpect which you have before you. You have ſeen, read, and learned more, at your age, than moſt young fellows have done at two or three and twenty. Your deſtination is a ſhining one, and leads to rank, fortune, and diſtinction. Your education has been calculated for it; and, to do you juſtice, that education has not been thrown away upon you. You want but two things, which do not want conjuration, but only care, to acquire; Eloquence and Manners. That is, the graces of ſpeech, and the graces of behaviour. You may have them; they are as much in your power, as powdering your hair is: and will you let the want of them obſcure (as it certainly will do) that ſhining proſpect which preſents itſelf to you? I am ſure you will not. They are the ſharp end, the point, of the nail that you are driving, which muſt make way firſt, for the larger and more ſolid parts to enter. Suppoſing your moral character as pure, and your knowledge as ſound, as I really believe them both to be, you want nothing for that perfection, which I have ſo conſtantly wiſhed you, and taken ſo much pains to give you, but Eloquence and Politeneſs. A man, who is not born with a poetical genius can never be a poet, or at beſt, an extreme bad one: but every man, who can ſpeak at all, can ſpeak elegantly and correctly, if he pleaſes, by attending to the beſt authors and orators; and, indeed, I would adviſe thoſe, who do not ſpeak elegantly, not to ſpeak at all; for I am ſure, they will get more by their ſilence than by their ſpeech. As for politeneſs, whoever keeps good company, and is not polite, muſt have formed a reſolution, and taken ſome pains not to be ſo; otherwiſe he would naturally and inſenſibly take the air, the addreſs, and the turn of thoſe with whom he converſes. You will probably

probably, in the course of this year, see as great a variety of good company, in the several capitals you will be at, as in any one year of your life; and consequently must (I should hope) catch some of their manners, almost whether you will or not; but, as I dare say that you will endeavour to do it, I am convinced you will succeed, and that I shall have the pleasure of finding you, at your return here, one of the best-bred men in Europe.

"I imagine, that when you receive my letters, and come to those parts of them which relate to eloquence and politeness, you say, or at least think, What, will he never have done upon those two subjects? Has he not said all he can say upon them? Why the same thing over and over again?—If you do think or say so, it must proceed from your not yet knowing the infinite importance of these two accomplishments; which I cannot recommend to you too often, nor inculcate too strongly; and I grudge no trouble, which can possibly be of the least use to you.

"I flatter myself, that your stay at Rome will go a great way towards answering all my views: I am sure it will, if you employ your time, and your whole time as you should. Your first morning hours, I would have you devote to your graver studies, with Mr. Harte; the middle part of the day, I would have employed in seeing Things: and the evening, in seeing People. You are not, I hope, of a lazy, inactive turn, in either body or mind; and, in that case, the day is full long enough for every thing; especially at Rome, where it is not the fashion, as it is here, and at Paris, to imbezzle at least half of it at table. But, if by accident, two or three hours are sometimes wanting for some useful purpose, borrow them from your sleep. Six, or at most seven hours sleep is, for a constancy, as much as you or any body can want: more is only laziness and dozing; and is, I am persuaded, both

unwholeſome and ſtupefying. If, by chance, your buſineſs, or your pleaſures, ſhould keep you up till four or five o'clock in the morning, I would adviſe you, however, to riſe exactly at your uſual time, that you may not loſe the precious morning hours; and that the want of ſleep may force you to go to bed earlier the next night. This is what I was adviſed to do, when very young, by a very wiſe man; and what I aſſure you, I always did, in the moſt diſſipated part of my life. I have very often gone to bed at ſix in the morning, and roſe, notwithſtanding, at eight; by which means I got many hours in the morning, that my companions loſt; and the want of ſleep obliged me to keep good hours the next, or at leaſt the third night. To this method I owe the greateſt part of my reading; for from twenty to forty, I ſhould certainly have read very little, if I had not been up while my acquaintances were in bed. Know the true value of time; ſnatch, ſeize, and enjoy every moment of it. No idleneſs, no lazineſs, no procraſtination: never put off till to-morrow what you can do to-day.

"Adieu, my dear friend (for ſuch I ſhall call you, and as ſuch I ſhall, for the future, live with you.) For I diſclaim all titles which imply an authority, that, I am perſuaded, you will never give me occaſion to exerciſe."

The following letter is upon the delicacy of moral character, and cannot be too much attended to, even by the MAN OF THE WORLD.

London, Jan. 8th, O. S. 1750.

"DEAR BOY,

"I have ſeldom or never written to you upon the ſubject of Religion and Morality: your own reaſon, I am perſuaded, has given you true notions of both; they ſpeak beſt for themſelves; but, if they want aſſiſtance, you have Mr. Harte at hand, both for precept and example; to your own reaſon, therefore

fore, and to Mr. Harte, ſhall I refer you for the Reality of both; and confine myſelf, in this letter, to the decency, the utility, and the neceſſity, of ſcrupulouſly preſerving the appearances of both. When I ſay the Appearances of religion, I do not mean that you ſhould talk or act like a Miſſionary, or an Enthuſiaſt, nor that you ſhould take up a controverſial cudgel againſt whoever attacks the ſect you are of; this would be both uſeleſs, and unbecoming your age: but I mean that you ſhould by no means ſeem to approve, encourage, or applaud, thoſe libertine notions, which ſtrike at all religions equally, and which are the poor thread-bare topics of half wits, and minute philoſophers. Even thoſe who are ſilly enough to laugh at their jokes, are ſtill wiſe enough to diſtruſt and deteſt their characters: for, putting moral virtues at the higheſt, and religion at the loweſt, religion muſt ſtill be allowed to be a collateral ſecurity, at leaſt, to Virtue; and every prudent man will ſooner truſt to two ſecurities than to one. Whenever, therefore, you happen to be in company with thoſe pretended *Eſprits forts*, or with thoughtleſs libertines, who laugh at all religion to ſhew their wit, or diſclaim it to complete their riot; let no word or look of yours intimate the leaſt approbation; on the contrary, let a ſilent gravity expreſs your diſlike: but enter not into the ſubject, and decline ſuch unprofitable and indecent controverſies. Depend upon this truth, That every man is the worſe looked upon, and the leſs truſted, for being thought to have no religion; in ſpite of all the pompous and ſpecious epithets he may aſſume, of *Eſprit fort*, Free-thinker, or Moral Philoſopher; and a wiſe Atheiſt (if ſuch a thing there is) would, for his own intereſt, and character in this world, pretend to ſome religion.

"Your moral character muſt be not only pure, but, like Cæſar's wife, unſuſpected. The leaſt ſpeck, or blemiſh, upon it, is fatal. Nothing degrades

grades and vilifies more, for it excites and unites deteſtation and contempt.

" There is nothing ſo delicate as your Moral character, and nothing which it is your intereſt ſo much to preſerve pure. Should you be ſuſpected of Injuſtice, Malignity, Perfidy, Lying, &c. all the parts and knowledge in the world will never procure you eſteem, friendſhip, or reſpect. A ſtrange concurrence of circumſtances has ſometimes raiſed very bad men to high ſtations; but they have been raiſed like criminals to a pillory, where their perſons and their crimes, by being more conſpicuous, are only the more known, the more deteſted, and the more pelted and inſulted. If, in any caſe whatſoever, affectation and oſtentation are pardonable, it is in the caſe of morality; though, even there, I would not adviſe you to a phariſaical pomp of virtue. But I will recommend to you a ſcrupulous tenderneſs for your moral character, and the utmoſt care not to ſay or do the leaſt thing that may, ever ſo ſlightly taint it. Show yourſelf, upon all occaſions, the friend, but not the bully, of virtue. Colonel Chartres, whom you have certainly heard of, (who was I believe, the moſt notorious blaſted raſcal in the world, and who had by all ſorts of crimes amaſſed immenſe wealth) was ſo ſenſible of the diſadvantage of a bad character, that I heard him once ſay, in his impudent, profligate manner, that, though he would not give one farthing for Virtue, he would give 10,000l. for a Character; becauſe he ſhould get 100,000l. by it: whereas he was ſo blaſted, that he had no longer an opportunity of cheating people. Is it poſſible, then, that an honeſt man can neglect what a wiſe rogue would purchaſe ſo dear?

" There is one of the vices above-mentioned into which people of good education, and, in the main, of good principles, ſometimes fall, from miſtaken notions of ſkill, dexterity, and ſelf-defence. I mean Lying: though it is inſeparably attended

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with more infamy and loſs than any other. The prudence and neceſſity of often concealing the truth, inſenſibly ſeduces people to violate it. It is the only art of mean capacities, and the only refuge of mean ſpirits. Whereas concealing the truth, upon proper occaſions, is as prudent and as innocent, as telling a lie, upon any occaſion, is infamous and fooliſh. I will ſtate you a caſe in your own department. Suppoſe you are employed at a foreign court, and that the miniſter of that court is abſurd or impertinent enough to aſk you what your inſtructions are; will you tell him a lie; which as ſoon as found out, and found out it certainly will be, muſt deſtroy your credit, blaſt your character, and render you uſeleſs there? No. Will you tell him the truth then, and betray your truſt? As certainly, No. But you will anſwer with firmneſs, That you are ſurpriſed at ſuch a queſtion; that you are perſuaded he does not expect an anſwer to it; but that at all events, he certainly will not have one. Such an anſwer will give him confidence in you; he will conceive an opinion of your veracity, of which opinion you may afterwards make very honeſt and fair advantages. But if, in negociations, you are looked upon as a liar, and a trickſter, no confidence will be placed in you, nothing will be communicated to you, and you will be in the ſituation of a man who has been burnt in the cheek; and who, from that mark, cannot afterwards get an honeſt livelihood if he would, but muſt continue a thief.

"*Certainly* (ſays Lord Bacon) *the ableſt men that ever were, have all had an openneſs and frankneſs of dealing, and a name of certainty and veracity; but then, they were like horſes well managed; for they could tell, paſſing well, when to ſtop, or turn: and at ſuch times, when they thought the caſe indeed required ſome diſſimulation, if then they uſed it, it came to paſs, that the former opinion ſpread abroad, of their good faith and clearneſs of dealing, made them almoſt inviſible.*"

There

There are people who indulge themſelves in a ſort of lying, which they reckon innocent, and which in one ſenſe is ſo; for it hurts no body but themſelves. This ſort of lying is the ſpurious offſpring of vanity, begotten upon folly: theſe people deal in the marvellous; they have ſeen ſome things that never exiſted; they have ſeen other things which they never really ſaw, though they did exiſt, only becauſe they were thought worth ſeeing. Has any thing remarkable been ſaid or done, in any place, or in any company; they immediately preſent and declare themſelves eye or ear witneſſes of it. They have done feats themſelves, unattempted, or at leaſt unperformed, by any others. They are always the heroes of their own fables; and think that they gain conſideration, or at leaſt preſent attention, by it. Whereas, in truth, all that they get is ridicule and contempt, not without diſtruſt: for one muſt naturally conclude, that he who will tell any lie from idle vanity, will not ſcruple telling a greater for intereſt. Had I really ſeen any thing ſo very extraordinary as to be almoſt incredible, I would keep it to myſelf, rather than, by telling it, give any body room to doubt for one minute of my veracity. It is moſt certain, that the reputation of chaſtity is not ſo neceſſary for a woman, as that of veracity is for a man: and with reaſon; for it is poſſible for a woman to be virtuous, though not ſtrictly chaſte: but is not poſſible for a man to be virtuous without ſtrict veracity. The ſlips of the poor women are ſometimes mere bodily frailties; but a lie in a man is a vice of the mind, and of the heart. For God's ſake, be ſcrupulouſly jealous of the purity of your moral character, keep it immaculate, unblemiſhed, unſullied; and it will be unſuſpected. Defamation and calumny never attack, where there is no weak place; they magnify, but they do not create."

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The following letter contains an approbation of Mr. Stanhope's conduct, and exhortations how to proceed when Mr. Harte leaves him.

London, March 8, O. S. 1750.

"I am extremely satisfied with your present manner of employing your time; but will you always employ it as well? I am far from meaning in the same way; but I mean as well in proportion, in the variation of age and circumstances. You now study five hours every morning; I neither suppose that you will, nor desire that you should, do so for the rest of your life. Both business and pleasure will justly and equally break in upon those hours. But then, will you always employ the leisure, they leave you, in useful studies? If you have but an hour, will you improve that hour, instead of idling it away? While you have such a friend and monitor as Mr. Harte, I am sure you will. But, suppose that business and situations should, in six or seven months, call Mr. Harte away from you; tell me truly, what may I expect and depend upon from you, when left to yourself? May I be sure that you will employ some part of every day, in adding something to that stock of knowledge which he will have left you? May I hope that you will allot one hour in the week to the care of your own affairs, to keep them in that order and method which every prudent man does? But, above all, may I be convinced that your pleasures, whatever they may be, will be confined within the circle of good company, and people of fashion? Those pleasures I recommend to you; I will promote them, I will pay for them: but I will neither pay for, nor suffer, the unbecoming, disgraceful, and degrading pleasures (they cannot be called pleasures) of low and profligate company. This, I am sure is not talking like an old man, though it is talking to you like an old friend: these are not hard conditions to ask of you. I am certain

certain you have ſenſe enough to know how reaſonable they are on my part, how advantageous they are on yours; but have you reſolution enough to perform them? Can you withſtand the examples, and the invitations, of the profligate, and their infamous miſſionaries? For I have known many a young fellow ſeduced by a *mauvaiſe honte*, that made him aſhamed to refuſe. Theſe are reſolutions which you muſt form and ſteadily execute, for yourſelf, whenever you loſe the friendly care and aſſiſtance of your *Mentor*. In the mean time, make a greedy uſe of him; exhauſt him, if you can, of all his knowledge; and get the Prophet's mantle from him, before he is taken away himſelf."

As Mr. Stanhope was ſoon to be at Paris, his friendly and affectionate father gives him ſuch inſtructions as he judged neceſſary for the place: and as the ſame inſtructions are, in ſome degree, neceſſary for every young gentleman who viſits Paris, they cannot ſurely be improper in a book intended to form the MAN of the WORLD; particularly as they tend to elucidate his lordſhip's life, by the anecdotes with which they are mixed, and diſcover his ſentiments on a variety of ſubjects.

London, April 26, O. S. 1750.

"My dear Friend,

"As your journey to Paris approaches, and as that period will, one way or another, be of infinite conſequence to you, my letters will henceforwards be principally calculated for that meridian. You will be left there to your own diſcretion, inſtead of Mr. Harte's; and you will allow me, I am ſure, to diſtruſt a little the diſcretion of eighteen. You will find in the Academy a number of young fellows much leſs diſcreet than yourſelf; theſe will be all your acquaintances; but look about you firſt and inquire into their reſpective characters, before you form any connections among them; and, *cæteris paribus*,

single out those of the most considerable rank and family. Show them a distinguishing attention, by which means you will get into their respective houses, and keep the best company. All those French young fellows are excessively *étourdis*, be upon your guard against scrapes and quarrels; have no corporal pleasantries with them, no *jeux de main*, no *coups de chambriere*, which frequently bring on quarrels. Be as lively as they, if you please, but at the same time be a little wiser than they. As to letters, you will find most of them ignorant; do not reproach them with that ignorance, nor make them feel your superiority. It is not their faults, they are all bred up for the army; but, on the other hand, do not allow their ignorance and idleness to break in upon those morning hours which you may be able to allot to your serious studies. No breakfasting with them, which consumes a great deal of time; but tell them (not magisterially and sententiously) that you will read two or three hours in the morning, and that for the rest of the day you are much at their service. Though, by the way, I hope you will keep wiser company in the evenings.

"I insist upon your never going to what is called the English Coffee-house at Paris, which is the resort of all the scrub English, and also of all the fugitive and attainted Scotch and Irish: party-quarrels, and drunken squabbles are very frequent there; and I do not know a more degrading place in all Paris. Coffee-houses and taverns are by no means creditable at Paris. Be cautiously upon your guard against the infinite number of fine-dressed and fine-spoken *chevaliers d'industrie* and *avanturiers*, which swarm at Paris; and keep every body civilly at arms length, whose real character or rank you are not previously informed of. Monsieur le Compte, or Monsieur le Chevalier in a handsome laced coat, *et très bien mis*, accosts you at the play, or some other public place; he conceives at first sight an infinite regard for you,

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he ſees that you are a ſtranger of the firſt diſtinction, he offers you his ſervices, and wiſhes nothing more ardently than to contribute as far as may be in his little power to procure you *les agrémens de Paris*. He is acquainted with ſome ladies of condition, *qui préférent une petite ſociété agréable, et de petit ſoupers aimable d'honnête gens, au tumulte et à la diſſipation de Paris*; and he will with the greateſt pleaſure imaginable have the honour of introducing you to thoſe ladies of quality. Well, if you were to accept of this kind offer, and go with him, you would find *au troiſième* a handſome, painted, and p—d ſtrumpet, in a tarniſhed ſilver or gold ſecond-hand robe; playing a ſham party at cards for livres, with three or four ſharpers well dreſſed enough, and dignified by the titles of Marquis, Comte, and Chevalier. The lady receives you in the moſt gracious manner, and with all thoſe *compliméns de routine* which every French woman has equally. Though ſhe loves retirement and ſhuns *le grand monde*, yet ſhe confeſſes herſelf obliged to the Marquis for having procured her ſo ineſtimable, ſo accompliſhed an acquaintance as yourſelf; but her concern is how to amuſe you, for ſhe never ſuffers play at her houſe for above a livre; if you can amuſe yourſelf with that low play till ſupper, *à la bonne heure*. Accordingly you ſit down to that little play, at which the good company takes care that you ſhall win fifteen or ſixteen livres, which gives them an opportunity of celebrating both your good luck, and your good play. Supper comes up, and a good one it is, upon the ſtrength of your being to pay for it. *La Marquiſe en fait les honneurs au mieux*, talks ſentiments, *mœurs et morals*; interlarded with *enjouëment*, and accompanied with ſome oblique ogles, which bid you not deſpair in time. After ſupper, pharaon, lanſquenet, or quinze happen accidentally to be mentioned: the Chevalier propoſes playing at one of them for half an hour; the Marquiſe exclaims againſt it, and vows ſhe will not

not suffer it, but is at last prevailed upon by being assured *que ce ne sera que pour des riens.* Then the wished-for moment is come, the operation begins; you are cheated, at best, of all the money in your pocket, and if you stay late, very probably robbed of your watch and snuff-box, possibly murdered for greater security.

"This, I can assure you, is not an exaggerated, but a literal description of what happens every day to some raw and inexperienced stranger at Paris. Remember to receive these civil gentlemen, who take such a fancy to you at first sight, very coldly, and take care always to be previously engaged, whatever party they propose to you. You may happen sometimes in very great and good companies to meet with some dexterous gentlemen, who may be very desirous, and also very sure, to win your money, if they can but engage you to play with them. Therefore lay it down as an invariable rule never to play with men, but only with men of fashion, at low play, or with women and men mixed. But at the same time whenever you are asked to play deeper than you would, do not refuse it gravely and sententiously, alledging the folly of staking what would be very inconvenient to one to lose, against what one does not want to win; but parry those invitations ludicrously, *et en badinant.* Say, that if you were sure to lose you might possibly play, but that as you may as well win, you dread *l'embarras des richesses* ever since you have seen what an incumbrance they were to poor Harlequin, and that therefore you are determined never to venture the winning above two Louis a day. This sort of light trifling way of declining invitations to vice and folly, is more becoming your age, and at the same time more effectual, than grave philosophical refusals. A young fellow who seems to have no will of his own, and who does every thing that is asked of him, is called a good-natured, but at the same time is thought a very

very ſilly young fellow. Act wiſely, upon ſolid principles, and from true motives, but keep them to yourſelf, and never talk ſententiouſly."

A great many letters follow upon the ſame ſubject, and much to the ſame purpoſe, all which I ſhall omit, and proceed to one more general, and not leſs neceſſary for a young gentleman going to Paris. It is dated the 17th of May. The ſubject is Vanity.

"Be extremely on your guard," ſays his lordſhip, "againſt vanity, the common failing of inexperienced youth; but particularly againſt that kind of vanity that dubs a man a coxcomb: a character which, once acquired, is more indelible than that of the prieſthood. It is not to be imagined by how many different ways vanity defeats its own purpoſes.

Some perſons talk perpetually of their grandfather ſuch-a-one, their uncle ſuch-a-one, and their intimate friend Mr. ſuch-a-one, whom, poſſibly, they are hardly acquainted with. But admitting it all to be as they would have it, what then? Have they the more merit for thoſe accidents? Certainly not. On the contrary, their taking up adventitious, proves their want of intrinſic, merit; a rich man never borrows. Take this rule for granted, as a never-failing one; that you muſt never ſeem to affect the character in which you have a mind to ſhine. Modeſty is the only ſure bait, when you angle for praiſe. The affectation of courage will make even a brave man paſs only for a bully; as the affectation of wit will make a man of parts paſs for a coxcomb. By this modeſty, I do not mean timidity, and aukward baſhfulneſs. On the contrary, be inwardly firm and ſteady, know your own value, whatever it may be, and act upon that principle; but take great care to let nobody diſcover, that you do know your own value. Whatever real merit you have, other people will diſcover; and people

people always magnify their own diſcoveries, as they leſſen thoſe of others.

" For God's ſake revolve all theſe things ſeriouſly in your thoughts before you launch out alone into the ocean of Paris. Recollect the obſervations that you have of yourſelf made upon mankind, compare and connect them with my inſtructions, and then act ſyſtematically and conſequentially from them."

His Lordſhip continues the ſubject of pleaſure, Paris, and the world, in ſeveral ſubſequent letters, to which I ſhall affix the dates, ſtriking out ſuch paſſages, and making ſuch obſervations as may be neceſſary.

London, July 9, O. S. 1750.

" My dear friend,

" PLEASURE is now the principal remaining part of your education. It will ſoften and poliſh your manners; it will make you purſue and at laſt overtake the *graces*. Pleaſure is neceſſarily reciprocal, no one feels, who does not at the ſame time give it. To be pleaſed, one muſt pleaſe. What pleaſes you in others, will generally pleaſe them in you. Paris is indiſputably the ſeat of the *graces*; they will even court you, if you are not too coy. Frequent and obſerve the beſt companies there, and you will ſoon be naturalized among them; you will ſoon find how particularly attentive they are to the correctneſs and elegancy of their language, and to the graces of their enunciation; they would even call the underſtanding of a man in queſtion, who ſhould neglect, or not know the infinite advantages ariſing from them. *Narrer*, *réciter*, *déclamer*, *bien*; are ſerious ſtudies among them, and well deſerve to be ſo every where. The converſations even among the women, frequently turn upon the elegancies, and minuteſt delicacies of the French language."

London, Auguſt 6, O. S. 1750.

" My dear Friend,

" THE moſt general rule that I can give you for the world, and which your experience will convince you

you of the truth of, is, never to give the *ton* to the company, but to take it from them; and to labour more to put them in conceit with themſelves, than to make them admire you. Thoſe whom you can make to like themſelves better, will, I promiſe you, like you very well.

"A ſyſtem-monger, who, without knowing any thing of the world by experience, has formed a ſyſtem of it in his duſty cell, lays it down, for example, that (from the general nature of mankind) flattery is pleaſing. He will therefore flatter. But how? Why indiſcriminately. And inſtead of repairing and heightening the piece judiciouſly, with ſoft colours, and a delicate pencil; with a coarſe bruſh, and a great deal of white-waſh, he daubs and beſmears the piece he means to adorn. His flattery offends even his patron; and is almoſt too groſs for his miſtreſs. A man of the world knows the force of flattery as well as he does; but then he knows how, when, and where to give it; he proportions his doſe to the conſtitution of the patient. He flatters by application, by inference, by compariſon, by hint; and ſeldom directly. In the courſe of the world there is the ſame difference, in every thing, between ſyſtem and practice.

"I long to have you at Paris, which is to be your great ſchool; you will be then in a manner within reach of me."

London, Nov. 1. O. S. 1750.

"My dear Friend,

"CONVERSATION in France, if you have the addreſs and dexterity to turn it upon uſeful ſubjects, will exceedingly improve your hiſtorical knowledge; for people there, however claſſically ignorant they may be, think it a ſhame to be ignorant of the hiſtory of their own country: they read that, if they read nothing elſe, and having often read nothing elſe, are proud of having read that, and talk of it willingly; even the women are well inſtructed in that ſort of reading.

ing. I am far from meaning by this, that you ſhould always be talking wiſely, in company, of books, hiſtory, and matters of knowledge. There are many companies which you will, and ought to keep, where ſuch converſations would be miſplaced and ill-timed; your own good ſenſe muſt diſtinguiſh the company, and the time. You muſt trifle with triflers; and be ſerious only with the ſerious, but dance to thoſe who pipe. *Cur in theatrum, Cato ſevere, veniſti?* was juſtly ſaid to an old man: how much more ſo would it be to one of your age? From the moment that you are dreſſed and go out, pocket all your knowledge with your watch, and never pull it out in company, unleſs deſired: the producing of the one unaſked, implies that you are weary of the company; and the producing of the other unrequired, will make the company weary of you. Company is a republic too jealous of its liberties, to ſuffer a dictator even for a quarter of an hour; and yet in that, as in all republics, there are ſome few who really govern; but then, it is by ſeeming to diſclaim, inſtead of attempting to uſurp, the power: that is the occaſion in which manners, dexterity, addreſs, and the undefineable *je ne ſçais quoi* triumph; if properly exerted, their conqueſt is ſure, and the more laſting for not being perceived.

The following letter is upon dreſs and cleanlineſs, and ſtrongly marks his Lordſhip's domeſtic character.

London, Nov. 12, O. S. 1750.

" My dear Friend,

" When you come to Paris, you muſt take care to be extremely well dreſſed; that is, as the faſhionable people are; this does by no means conſiſt in the finery, but in the taſte, fitneſs, and manner of wearing your cloaths: a fine ſuit ill made, and flatternly, or ſtifly worn, far from adorning, only expoſes the aukwardneſs of the wearer. Get the beſt French taylor to make your cloaths, whatever they are, in the faſhion, and to fit you: and then wear them, button them, or unbutton them, as the genteeleſt people you

ſee

ſee do. Let your man learn of the beſt *friſeur* to do your hair well, for that is a very material part of your dreſs. Take care to have your ſtockings well gartered up, and your ſhoes well buckled; for nothing gives a more ſlovenly air to a man than ill-dreſſed legs.

"In your perſon you muſt be accurately clean; and your teeth, hands, and nails, ſhould be ſuperlatively ſo: a dirty mouth has real ill conſequences to the owner, for it infallibly cauſes the decay, as well as the intolerable pain, of the teeth; and it is very offenſive to his acquaintance, for it will moſt inevitably ſtink. I inſiſt therefore, that you waſh your teeth the firſt thing you do every morning, with a ſoft ſponge and warm water, for four or five minutes; and then waſh your mouth five or ſix times. Mouton, whom I deſire you will ſend for at your arrival in Paris, will give you an opiate, and a liquor to be uſed ſometimes. Nothing looks more ordinary, vulgar, and illiberal, than dirty hands, and ugly, uneven, and ragged nails: I do not ſuſpect you of that ſhocking, aukward trick, of biting yours; but that is not enough; you muſt keep the ends of them ſmooth and clean, not tipped with black, as the ordinary people's always are. The ends of your nails ſhould be ſmall ſegments of circles, which, by a very little care in the cutting, they are very eaſily brought to; every time that you wipe your hands, rub the ſkin round your nails backwards, that it may not grow up, and ſhorten your nails too much. The cleanlineſs of the reſt of your perſon, which by the way will conduce greatly to your health, I refer from time to time to the bagnio. My mentioning theſe particulars ariſes (I freely own) from ſome ſuſpicions that the hints are not unneceſſary; for when you was a ſchool-boy, you were ſlovenly and dirty, above your fellows. I muſt add another caution, which is, that upon no account whatever, you put your fingers, as too many people are apt to do, into your noſe or ears. It is the moſt ſhocking, naſty, vulgar rudeneſs, that can be offered to company; it

diſguſts

diſguſts one, it turns one's ſtomach; and, for my own part, I would much rather know that a man's finger were actually in his breech, than ſee them in his noſe. Waſh your ears well every morning, and blow your noſe in your handkerchief when you have occaſion; but by the way, without looking at it afterwards.

"There ſhould be in the leaſt, as well as in the greateſt, parts of a gentleman *les manieres nobles.*—Senſe will teach you ſome, obſervation others: attend carefully to the manners, the diction, the motions, of people of the firſt faſhion, and form your own upon them. On the other hand, obſerve a little, thoſe of the vulgar, in order to avoid them: for though the things which they ſay or do may be the ſame, the manner is always totally different; and in that, and nothing elſe, conſiſts the characteriſtic of a man of faſhion. The loweſt peaſant ſpeaks, moves, dreſſes, eats, and drinks, as much as a man of the firſt faſhion; but does them all quite differently; ſo that by doing and ſaying moſt things in a manner oppoſite to that of the vulgar, you have a great chance of doing and ſaying them right. There are gradations in aukwardneſs and vulgariſm, as there are in every thing elſe. *Les manieres de robe*, though not quite right, are ſtill better than *les manieres bourgeoiſes*; and theſe, though bad, are ſtill better than *les manieres de campagne.* But the language, the air, the dreſs, and the manners of the court, are the only true ſtandard; *des manieres nobles, et d'un honnete homme. Ex pede Herculem* is an old and true ſaying, and very applicable to our preſent ſubject; for a man of parts, who has been bred at courts, and uſed to keep the beſt company, will diſtinguiſh himſelf, and is to be known from the vulgar, by every word, attitude, geſture, and even look. I cannot leave theſe ſeeming *minutiæ*, without repeating to you the neceſſity of your carving well; which is an article, little as it is, that is uſeful twice every day of one's life; and the doing it ill is very troubleſome to one's ſelf, and very diſagreeable, often ridiculous, to others.

"Having ſaid all this, I cannot help reflecting, what a formal dull fellow, or a cloiſtered pedant, would ſay, if they were to ſee this letter: they would look upon it with the utmoſt contempt, and ſay, that ſurely a father might find much better topics for advice to a ſon. I would admit it, if I had given you, or that you were capable of receiving no better; but if ſufficient pains have been taken to inform your heart and improve your mind, and, as I hope, not without ſucceſs, I will tell thoſe ſolid Gentlemen, that all theſe trifling things, as they think them, collectively form that pleaſing *je ne ſçais quoi*, that *enſemble*, which they are utter ſtrangers to, both in themſelves and others. The word *aimable* is not known in their language, or the thing in their manners. Great uſage of the world, great attention, and a great deſire of pleaſing, can alone give it; and it is no trifle. It is from old people's looking upon theſe things as trifles, or not thinking of them at all, that ſo many young people are ſo aukward, and ſo ill bred. Their parents, often careleſs and unmindful of them, give them only the common run of education, as ſchool, univerſity, and then travelling; without examining, and very often without being able to judge, if they did examine, what progreſs they make in any one of theſe ſtages. Then they careleſsly comfort themſelves, and ſay, that their ſons will do like other people's ſons; and ſo they do, that is commonly very ill. They correct none of the childiſh, naſty tricks, which they get at ſchool; nor the illiberal manners which they contract at the univerſity; nor the frivolous and ſuperficial pertneſs, which is commonly all that they acquire by their travels. As they do not tell them of theſe things, nobody elſe can; ſo they go on in the practice of them, without ever hearing, or knowing, that they are unbecoming, indecent, and ſhocking. For, as I have often formerly obſerved to you, nobody but a father can take the liberty to reprove a young fellow grown up, for thoſe kinds of inaccuracies and impro-

prieties

prieties of behaviour. The moſt intimate friendſhip, unaſſiſted by the paternal ſuperiority, will not authoriſe it. I may truly ſay, therefore, that you are happy in having me for a ſincere, friendly, and quick-ſighted monitor. Nothing will eſcape me; I ſhall pry for your defects, in order to correct them, as curiouſly as I ſhall ſeek for your perfections, in order to applaud and reward them; with this difference only, that I ſhall publicly mention the latter, and never hint at the former, but in a letter to, or a *tête à tête* with you. I will never put you out of countenance before company; and I hope you will never give me reaſon to be out of countenance for you, as any of the above-mentioned defects would make me. *Prætor non curat de minimis*, was a maxim in the Roman law; for cauſes only of a certain value were tried by him; but there were inferior juriſdictions, that took cognizance of the ſmalleſt. Now I ſhall try you, not only as Prætor in the greateſt, but as Cenſor in leſſer, and as the loweſt magiſtrate in the leaſt caſes."

The next letter worthy of notice is in French, and contains a ſhort hiſtory of the progreſs of taſte in France. A tranſlation, I ſuppoſe, will ſuffice, as it is principally valuable on account of its matter.

London, Dec. 24, 1750.

"My dear friend,

"AT laſt you are become a Pariſian, and of courſe muſt be addreſſed in French; you will likewiſe anſwer me in the ſame, that I may be able to judge of the degree in which you poſſeſs the elegancy, the delicacy, and the orthography of that language, which is, in a manner, become the univerſal language of Europe. I am aſſured that you ſpeak it well; but in that well there are better and worſe: and he who in the provinces might be thought to ſpeak correctly, would at Paris be conſidered as an ancient Gaul. In that country of faſhion, even language is ſubject to the mode, which varies almoſt as often as the cut of their clothes.

" The *affected*, the *finical*, the *neological*, *or new and faſhionable ſtyle*, are at preſent too much in vogue at Paris. Know, obſerve, and occaſionally converſe (if you pleaſe) according to thoſe different ſtyles; but do not let your taſte be infected by them. Wit too is there ſubſervient to the mode; and truly, at Paris, one muſt have wit in deſpite of Minerva. Every body runs after it; but if it is not willing, it never can be overtaken; and, unfortunately for thoſe who purſue, they ſeize upon what they miſtake for wit, and endeavour to paſs it for ſuch upon others. This is, at beſt, the lot of Ixion, who embraced a cloud inſtead of the Goddeſs he purſued. From this error proceed fine ſentiments, which were never felt, falſe and unnatural thoughts, obſcure and far-fetched expreſſions, not only unintelligible, but which it is even impoſſible to decypher or divine; and of all theſe ingredients are compoſed two thirds of the new French books which now appear. It is the new cookery of Parnaſſus, in which the Still is employed inſtead of the pot and the ſpit, and where quinteſſences and extracts chiefly prevail. N. B. The Attic ſalt is prohibited.

" You will now and then be obliged to eat of this new cookery; but do not ſuffer your taſte to be corrupted by it: and when you, in your return, are deſirous of treating others, ſtudy the good old cookery of the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth. There were at that time admirable head-cooks, ſuch as Corneille, Boileau, Racine, and la Fontaine. Whatever they prepared was ſimple, wholeſome, and ſolid. — But, metaphor apart; do not ſuffer yourſelf to be dazzled by falſe brilliancy, by unnatural expreſſions, nor by thoſe antitheſes ſo much in faſhion: as a protection againſt ſuch innovations, have recourſe to your own good ſenſe, and to the ancient authors. On the other hand, do not laugh at thoſe who give into ſuch errors; you are as yet too young to play the critic, or to ſtand forth a keen avenger of the violated rights of good ſenſe. Content yourſelf with not being perverted,

ed, without attempting to convert others; let them quietly enjoy their errors in taste, as well as in religion. Within the course of the last century and an half, taste in France has (as well as that kingdom itself) undergone many vicissitudes. Under the reign of (I do not say) Lewis the Thirteenth, but of Cardinal de Richelieu, good taste first began to make its way. It was refined under that of Lewis the Fourteenth; a great king at least, if not a great man. Corneille was the restorer of true taste, and the founder of the French theatre; although rather inclined to the Italian *Concetti*, and the Spanish *Agudeze*. Witness those epigrams which he makes Chimene utter in the greatest excess of grief.

" Before his time those kind of itinerant authors called *Troubadours*, or *Romanciers*, were a species of madmen, who attracted the admiration of fools. Towards the end of Cardinal de Richelieu's reign, and the beginning of Lewis the Fourteenth's, the Temple of Taste was established at the *Hôtel de Rambouillet*; but that taste was not yet pure: this Temple might more properly have been called a Laboratory of Wit, where good sense was put to the torture, in order to extract from it the subtil essence. There it was, that Voiture laboured hard, and incessantly, to produce wit. But at last Boileau and Moliere fixed the standard of true taste, in spight of the Scuderys, the Calprenedes, *&c.*: they defeated and put to flight *Artamenes*, *Juba*, *Oroondates*, and all those heroes of romance who were notwithstanding (each of them) as good as a whole army. Those visionaries then endeavoured to obtain an asylum in libraries; this they could not accomplish, but were under a necessity of taking shelter in the chambers of some few ladies. I would have you read one volume of Cleopatra, and one of Clelia, it will otherwise be impossible for you to form any idea of the extravagancies they contain: but God keep you from ever persevering to the twelfth.

" During almoſt the whole reign of Lewis the Fourteenth, true taſte remained in its purity, until it received ſome hurt, although undeſignedly, from a very fine genius, I mean Fontenelle; who with much genius, and great learning, ſacrificed rather too freely to the graces, whoſe moſt favourite child and pupil he was. Admired with reaſon, others tried to imitate him: but unfortunately for us, the author of the Paſtorals, of the Hiſtory of Oracles, and of the French Theatre, found fewer imitators, than the Chevalier d'Her did mimics. He has ſince been copied by a thouſand authors; but never really imitated by any one that I know of."

" At preſent, the ſeat of true taſte in France ſeems to me not well eſtabliſhed. It ſubſiſts, indeed, but is torn by factions. There is one party of *petits maîtres*, one of half-learned women, another of inſipid authors, whoſe works are *verba et voces, et præterea nihil*; and, in ſhort, a numerous and very faſhionable party of writers, who, in a metaphyſical jumble, introduce their falſe and ſubtil reaſonings, upon the movements, and the ſentiments of *the ſoul, the heart*, and *the mind*.

" Do not let yourſelf be overpowered by faſhion, nor by particular ſets of people, with whom you may be connected; but try all the different coins, before you receive any in payment. Let your own good ſenſe and reaſon judge the value of each; and be perſuaded, that *nothing can be beautiful, unleſs true*. Whatever brilliancy is not the reſult of the ſolidity and juſtneſs of a thought, is but a falſe glare. The Italian ſaying with regard to a diamond, is equally applicable here, *Quanto più ſodezzo, tanto più ſplendore*."

Mr. Stanhope being now at Paris, (as the reader would perceive by the foregoing letter) his Lordſhip's letters become ſo frequent, and abound with ſo many particulars that concern his ſon only, that I ſhall omit the

the dates for ſome time, and confine myſelf ſolely to ſuch paſſages as relate to the general ſyſtem.

"Your great point at preſent at Paris," ſays he, "to which all other conſiderations muſt give way, is to become entirely a man of faſhion; to be well bred without ceremony, eaſy without negligence, ſteady and intrepid with modeſty, genteel without affectation, inſinuating without meanneſs, chearful without being noiſy, frank without indiſcretion, and ſecret without myſteriouſneſs; to know the proper time and place for whatever you ſay or do, and to do it with an air of condition: all this is not ſo ſoon nor ſo eaſily learned as people imagine, but requires obſervation and time. The world is an immenſe folio, which demands a great deal of time and attention to be read and underſtood as it ought to be: you have not yet read above four or five pages of it; and you will have but barely time to dip now and then in other leſs important books.

"I hope your colleges with Marcel [a celebrated French dancing maſter] go on proſperouſly. In thoſe ridiculous, though, at the ſame time, really important lectures, pray attend; and deſire your Profeſſor alſo to attend more particularly to the chapter of the arms. It is they that decide of a man's being genteel or otherwiſe, more than any other part of the body. A twiſt, or ſtiffneſs in the wriſt, will make any man in Europe look aukward. The next thing to be attended to, is your coming into a room, and preſenting yourſelf to a company. This gives the firſt impreſſion; and the firſt impreſſion is often a laſting one. Therefore, pray deſire Profeſſor Marcel to make you come in and go out of his room frequently, and in the ſuppoſition of different companies being there; ſuch as miniſters, women, mixed companies, *&c.* Thoſe who preſent themſelves well, have a certain dignity in their air; which, without the leaſt ſeeming mixture of pride, at once engages, and is reſpected.

" In your commerce with women," continues he, " and indeed with men too, *une certaine douceur* is particularly engaging; it is that which conſtitutes that character, which the French talk of ſo much, and ſo juſtly value; I mean *l'aimable*. This *douceur* is not ſo eaſily deſcribed as felt. It is the compound reſult of different things: a complaiſance, a flexibility, but not a ſervility of manners: an air of ſoftneſs in the countenance, geſture, and expreſſion; equally, whether you concur, or differ, with the perſon you converſe with. Obſerve thoſe carefully, thoſe who have that *douceur*, that charms you and others; and your own good ſenſe will ſoon enable you to diſcover the different ingredients of which it is compoſed. You muſt be more particularly attentive to this *douceur*, whenever you are obliged to refuſe what is aſked of you, or to ſay what, in itſelf, cannot be very agreeable to thoſe to whom you ſay it. It is then the neceſſary gilding of a diſagreeable pill. *L'aimable* conſiſts in a thouſand of theſe little things aggregately. It is the *ſuaviter in modo*, which I have ſo often recommended to you.

" You have now," adds his Lordſhip, " got a footing in a great many good houſes at Paris, in which I adviſe you to make yourſelf domeſtic.

This ſort of *badinage* has ſomething engaging and *liant* in it, and begets that decent familiarity, which is both agreeable and uſeful to eſtabliſh in good houſes, and with people of faſhion. Mere formal viſits, dinners and ſuppers, upon formal invitations, are not the thing; they add to no connection, nor information: but it is the eaſy, careleſs, ingreſs and egreſs, at all hours, that forms the pleaſing and profitable commerce of life."

Theſe obſervations cannot be too much attended to; as they are at once juſt, and of general application in the ſcience of life.

The Earl of Cheſterfield reſumes his inſtructions, in a ſomewhat more general manner, in ſeveral letters

ters written during the ſpring and ſummer of the year 1751.

"I think you are too much above being a vain coxcomb," ſays he, "over-rating your own merit, and inſulting others with the ſuperabundance of it. On the contrary, I am convinced, that the conſciouſneſs of merit makes a man of ſenſe more modeſt, though more firm. A man who diſplays his own merit is a coxcomb, and a man who does not know it is a fool. A man of ſenſe knows it, exerts it, avails himſelf of it, but never boaſts of it; and always *ſeems* rather to under than over value it, though, in truth, he ſets the right value upon it. It is a very true maxim of la Bruyere's (an author well worth your ſtudying) *qu'on ne vaut dans ce monde, que ce que l'ou veut valoir.* A man who is really diffident, timid, and baſhful, be his merit what it will, never can puſh himſelf in the world; his deſpondency throws him into inaction; and the forward, the buſtling, and the petulant, will always get the better of him. The manner makes the whole difference. What would be impudent in one Manner, is only a proper and decent aſſurance in another. A man of ſenſe, and of knowledge of the world, will aſſert his own rights, and purſue his own objects, as ſteadily and intrepidly, as the moſt impudent man living, and commonly more ſo; but then he has art enough to give an outward air of modeſty to all he does. This engages and prevails, whilſt the very ſame things ſhock and fail, from the over-bearing or impudent manner only of doing them. I repeat my maxim, *Suaviter in modo, ſed fortiter in re.*—Would you know the characters, modes, and manners, of the latter end of the laſt age, which are very like thoſe of the preſent, read La Bruyere. But would you know man, independently of modes, read La Rochefoucault, who, I am afraid, paints him very exactly.

"When you go to the play," continues his Lordſhip, "which I hope you do often, for it is a very inſtructive amuſement, you muſt certainly have ob-

ſerved the very different effects which the ſeveral parts have upon you, according as they are well or ill acted. The very worſt tragedy of Corneille's, if well ſpoken and acted, intereſts, engages, agitates, and affects your paſſion. Love, terror, and pity, alternately poſſeſs you. But if ill ſpoken and acted, it would only excite your indignation or your laughter. Why? It is ſtill Corneille's; it is the ſame ſenſe, the ſame matter, whether well or ill acted. It is then merely the manner of ſpeaking and acting that makes this great difference in the effects. Apply this to yourſelf, and conclude from it, that if you would either pleaſe in a private company, or perſuade in a public aſſembly; air, looks, geſtures, graces, enunciation, proper accents, juſt emphaſis, and tuneful cadences, are full as neceſſary as the matter itſelf. Let aukward, ungraceful, inelegant, and dull fellows, ſay what they will in behalf of their ſolid matter, and ſtrong reaſonings; and let them deſpiſe all thoſe graces and ornaments, which engage the ſenſes and captivate the heart; they will find (though they will poſſibly wonder why) that their rough unpoliſhed matter, and their unadorned, coarſe, but ſtrong arguments, will neither pleaſe nor perſuade; but, on the contrary, will tire our attention, and excite diſguſt. We are ſo made, that we love to be pleaſed, better than to be informed; information is, in a certain degree, mortifying, as it implies our previous ignorance; it muſt be ſweetened to be palatable.

"To bring this directly to you; know that no man can make a figure in this country, but by parliament. Your fate depends upon your ſucceſs there as a ſpeaker; and, take my word for it, that ſucceſs turns much more upon Manner than Matter. Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Murray, the ſolicitor-general, [now Lord Mansfield] are, beyond compariſon, the beſt ſpeakers; why? Only becauſe they are the beſt orators. They alone can inflame or quiet the houſe; they alone are ſo attended to, in that numerous and noiſy

noiſy aſſembly, that you might hear a pin fall while either of them is ſpeaking. Is it that their matter is better, or their arguments ſtronger, than other peoples? Does the houſe expect extraordinary informations from them? Not in the leaſt; but the houſe expects pleaſure from them, and therefore attends; finds it, and therefore approves. Mr. Pitt, particularly, has very little parliamentary knowledge; his matter is generally flimſy, and his arguments often weak: but his eloquence is ſuperior, his action graceful, his enunciation juſt and harmonious; his periods are well turned, and every word he makes uſe of is the very beſt, and the moſt expreſſive, that can be uſed in that place. This, and not his matter, made him pay-maſter, in ſpite of both King and Miniſters. From this, draw the obvious concluſion. The ſame thing holds full as true in converſation; where even trifles, elegantly expreſſed, well looked, and accompanied with graceful action, will ever pleaſe, beyond all the home-ſpun, unadorned ſenſe in the world. Reflect, on one ſide, how you feel within yourſelf, while you are forced to ſuffer the tedious, muddy, and ill-turned narration of ſome aukward fellow, even though the fact may be intereſting; and on the other hand, with what pleaſure you attend to the relation of a much leſs intereſting matter, when elegantly expreſſed, genteely turned, and gracefully delivered. By attending carefully to all theſe *agrémens* in your daily converſation, they will become habitual to you, before you come into parliament; and you will have nothing then to do, but to raiſe them a little when you come there. I could wiſh you to be ſo attentive to this object, that I would not have you ſpeak to your footman, but in the very beſt words that the ſubject admits of, be the language which it will. Think of your words, and of their arrangement, before you ſpeak; chuſe the moſt elegant, and place them in the beſt order. Conſult your own ear, to avoid cacophony; and what is very near as bad, monotony.

monotony. Think alſo of your geſture and looks, when you are ſpeaking even upon the moſt trifling ſubjects. The ſame things, differently expreſſed, looked, and delivered, ceaſe to be the ſame things."

Every one muſt feel the force of this remark; which is admirably ſupported and illuſtrated by the following epiſtolary ſermon, recommended by all the graces of eloquence, and all the perſpicuity of method.

"I mentioned to you, ſome time ago," ſays his Lordſhip, "a ſentence, which I would moſt earneſtly wiſh you always to retain in your thoughts, and obſerve in your conduct. It is *ſuaviter in modo, fortiter in re.* I do not know any one rule ſo unexceptionably uſeful and neceſſary in every part of life. I ſhall therefore take it for my text to day [this letter has no date]; and, as old men love preaching, and I have ſome right to preach to you, I here preſent you with my ſermon upon theſe words. To proceed then regularly and *pulpitically*; I will firſt ſhew you, my beloved, the neceſſary connection of the two members of my text, *ſuaviter in modo*; *fortiter in re.* In the next place, I ſhall ſet forth the advantages and utility reſulting from a ſtrict obſervance of the precept contained in my text; and conclude with an application of the whole. The *ſuaviter in modo* alone would degenerate and ſink into a mean, timid compliance, and paſſiveneſs, if not ſupported and dignified by the *fortiter in re*; which would alſo run into impetuoſity and brutality, if not tempered and ſoftened, by the *ſuaviter in modo:* however, they are ſeldom united. The warm, choleric man, with ſtrong animal ſpirits, deſpiſes the *ſuaviter in modo*, and thinks to carry all before him by the *fortiter in re.* He may, poſſibly, by great accident, now and then ſucceed, when he has only weak and timid people to deal with; but his general fate will be, to ſhock, offend, be hated, and fail. On the other hand, the cunning, crafty man, thinks to gain all his ends by the *ſuaviter in modo* only: *he becomes all things*

things to all men; he ſeems to have no opinion of his own, and ſervilely adopts the preſent opinion of the preſent perſon; he inſinuates himſelf only into the eſteem of fools, but is ſoon detected, and ſurely deſpiſed by every body elſe. The wiſe man (who differs as much from the cunning, as from the choleric man) alone joins the *ſuaviter in modo* with the *fortiter in re*. Now to the advantages ariſing from the ſtrict obſervance of this precept.

"If you are in authority, and have a right to command, your commands delivered *ſuaviter in modo* will be willingly, chearfully, and conſequently well obeyed; whereas, if given only *fortiter*, that is brutally; they will rather, as Tacitus ſays, be interpreted than executed. For my own part, if I bid my footman bring me a glaſs of wine, in a rough inſulting manner, I ſhould expect, that in obeying me, he would contrive to ſpill ſome of it upon me; and I am ſure I ſhould deſerve it. A cool ſteady reſolution ſhould ſhow, that where you have a right to command, you will be obeyed; but, at the ſame time, a gentleneſs in the manner of enforcing that obedience, ſhould make it a chearful one, and ſoften, as much as poſſible, the mortifying conſciouſneſs of inferiority.

"If you are to aſk a favour, or even to ſolicit your due, you muſt do it *ſuaviter in modo*, or you will give thoſe, who have a mind to refuſe you either, a pretence to do it, by reſenting the manner; but, on the other hand, you muſt, by a ſteady perſeverance and decent tenaciouſneſs, ſhow the *fortiter in re*. The right motives are ſeldom the true ones, of men's actions, eſpecially of kings, miniſters, and people in high ſtations; who often give to importunity and fear, what they would refuſe to juſtice or to merit. By the *ſuaviter in modo* engage their hearts, if you can; at leaſt, prevent the pretence of offence: but take care to ſhow enough of the *fortiter in re* to extort from their love of eaſe, or their fear, what you might in vain hope for from their juſtice or good-

good-nature. People in high life are hardened to the wants and diſtreſſes of mankind, as ſurgeons are to their bodily pains; they ſee and hear of them all day long, and even of ſo many ſimulated ones, that they do not know which are real, and which not. Other ſentiments are therefore to be applied to, than thoſe of mere juſtice and humanity; their favour muſt be captivated by the *ſuaviter in modo:* their love of eaſe diſturbed by unwearied importunity, or their fears wrought upon by a decent intimation of implacable, cool, reſentment; this is the true *fortiter in re.* This precept is the only way I know in the world, of being loved without being deſpiſed, and feared without being hated. It conſtitutes the dignity of character, which every wiſe man muſt endeavour to eſtabliſh.

" Now to apply what has been ſaid, and ſo conclude.

" If you find that you have a haſtineſs in your temper, which unguardedly breaks out into indiſcreet ſallies, or rough expreſſions, to either your ſuperiors, your equals, or your inferiors, watch it narrowly, check it carefully, and call the *ſuaviter in modo* to your aſſiſtance: at the firſt impulſe of paſſion, be ſilent, till you can be ſoft. Labour even to get the command of your countenance ſo well, that thoſe emotions may not be read in it: a moſt unſpeakable advantage in buſineſs! On the other hand, let no complaiſance, no gentleneſs of temper, no weak deſire of pleaſing on your part, no wheedling, coaxing, nor flattery, on other people's, make you recede one jot from any point that reaſon and prudence have bid you purſue; but return to the charge, perſiſt, perſevere, and you will find moſt things attainable that are poſſible. A yielding timid meekneſs is always abuſed and inſulted by the unjuſt and the unfeeling; but when ſuſtained by the *fortiter in re*, is always reſpected, commonly ſucceſsful."

" In

" In your friendships and connections, as well as in your enmities, this rule is particularly useful; let your firmness and vigour preserve and invite attachments to you; but, at the same time, let your manner hinder the enemies of your friends and dependants from becoming yours: let your enemies be disarmed by the gentleness of your manner; but let them feel, at the same time, the steadiness of your just resentment; for there is a great difference between bearing malice, which is always ungenerous, and a resolute self-defence, which is always prudent and justifiable.

" In negociations with foreign ministers, remember the *fortiter in re*; give up no point, accept of no expedient, till the utmost necessity reduces you to it, and even then dispute the ground inch by inch: but then, while you are contending with the minister *fortiter in re*, remember to gain the man by the *suaviter in modo*. If you engage his heart, you have a fair chance for imposing upon his understanding, and determining his will. Tell him, in a frank gallant manner, that your ministerial wrangles do not lessen your personal regard for his merit; but that, on the contrary, his zeal and ability, in the service of his master, increase it; and that, of all things, you desire to make a good friend of so good a servant. By these means you may and will very often be a gainer, you never can be a loser.

" Some people cannot gain upon themselves to be easy and civil to those who are either their rivals, competitors, or opposers, though, independently of those accidental circumstances, they would like and esteem them. They betray a shyness and an awkwardness in company with them, and catch at any little thing to expose them; and so, from temporary and only occasional opponents, make them their personal enemies. This is exceedingly weak and detrimental, as, indeed, is all humour in business; which can only be carried on successfully, by unadulterated good policy and right reasoning. In such situations I would

would be more particularly and *noblement*, civil, eaſy, and frank, with the man whoſe deſigns I traverſed; this is commonly called generoſity and magnanimity, but is, in truth, good ſenſe and policy. The manner is often as important as the matter, ſometimes more ſo; a favour may make an enemy, and an injury may make a friend, according to the different manners in which they are ſeverally done. The countenance, the addreſs, the words, the enunciation, the graces, add great efficacy to the *ſuaviter in modo*, and great dignity to the *fortiter in re*; and conſequently they deſerve the utmoſt attention.

"From what has been ſaid, I conclude with this obſervation, that gentleneſs of manners, with firmneſs of mind, is a ſhort, but full deſcription of human perfection, on this ſide of religious and moral duties: that you may be ſeriouſly convinced of this truth, and ſhow it in your life and converſation, is the moſt ſincere and ardent wiſh of your's."

The following letter is particularly uſeful in ſuch a work as this: it at once throws light on his Lordſhip's life, and carries on the Syſtem of Education.

London, March 18, O. S. 1751.

"My dear Friend,

"I acquainted you in a former letter, that I had brought a bill into the Houſe of Lords for correcting and reforming our preſent calendar, which is the Julian; and for adopting the Gregorian. I will now give you a more particular account of that affair; from which reflections will naturally occur to you, that I hope may be uſeful, and which I fear you have not made. It was notorious, that the Julian calendar was erroneous, and had overcharged the ſolar year with eleven days. Pope Gregory XIII. corrected this error; his reformed calendar was immediately received by all the Catholic powers of Europe, and afterwards adopted by all the Proteſtant ones, except Ruſſia,

Russia, Sweden, and England. It was not, in my opinion, very honourable for England to remain in a gross and avowed error, especially in such company; the inconveniency of it was likewise felt by all those who had foreign correspondents, whether political or mercantile. I determined, therefore, to attempt the reformation; I consulted the best lawyers, and the most skilful astronomers, and we cooked up a bill for that purpose. But then my difficulty began: I was to bring in this bill, which was necessarily composed of law jargon and astronomical calculations, to both which I am an utter stranger. However, it was absolutely necessary to make the House of Lords think that I knew something of the matter; and also, to make them believe that they knew something of it themselves, which they do not. For my own part, I could just as soon have talked Celtic or Sclavonian to them, as astronomy, and they would have understood me full as well: so I resolved to do better than speak to the purpose, and to please instead of informing them. I gave them, therefore, only an historical account of calendars, from the Egyptian down to the Gregorian, amusing them now and then with little episodes; but I was particularly attentive to the choice of my words, to the harmony and roundness of my periods, to my elocution, to my action. This succeeded, and ever will succeed; they thought I informed, because I pleased them: and many of them said, that I had made the whole very clear to them; when, God knows, I had not even attempted it. Lord Macclesfield, who had the greatest share in forming the bill, and who is one of the greatest mathematicians and astronomers in Europe, spoke afterwards, with infinite knowledge, and all the clearness that so intricate a matter would admit of: but as his words, his periods, and his utterance, were not near so good as mine, the preference was unanimously, though most unjustly given to me. This will ever be the case; every numerous

assembly

aſſembly is *mob*, let the individuals who compoſe it be what they will. Mere reaſon and good ſenſe is never to be talked to a mob: their paſſions, their ſentiments, their ſenſes, and their ſeeming intereſts, are alone to be applied to. Underſtanding they have collectively none; but they have ears and eyes, which muſt be flattered and ſeduced; and this can only be done by eloquence, tuneful periods, graceful action, and all the various parts of oratory.

"When you come into the Houſe of Commons, if you imagine that ſpeaking plain and unadorned ſenſe and reaſon will do your buſineſs, you will find yourſelf moſt groſly miſtaken. As a ſpeaker, you will be ranked only according to your eloquence, and by no means according to your matter; every body knows the matter almoſt alike, but few can adorn it. I was early convinced of the importance and powers of eloquence; and from that moment I applied myſelf to it. I reſolved not to utter one word, even in common converſation, that ſhould not be the moſt expreſſive, and the moſt elegant, that the language could ſupply me with for that purpoſe; by which means I have acquired ſuch a certain degree of habitual eloquence, that I muſt now really take ſome pains, if I would expreſs myſelf inelegantly. I want to inculcate this known truth into you, which you ſeem by no means to be convinced of yet, that ornaments are at preſent your only objects. Your ſole buſineſs now, is to ſhine, not to weigh. Weight without luſtre is lead. You had better talk trifles elegantly, to the moſt trifling woman, than coarſe inelegant ſenſe to the moſt ſolid man: you had better return a dropped fan genteely, than give a thouſand pounds aukwardly: and you had better refuſe a favour gracefully, than grant it clumſily. Manner is all, in every thing: it is by manner only that you can pleaſe, and conſequently riſe. All your Greek will never advance you from ſecretary to envoy, nor from envoy to ambaſſador; but your addreſs,

dreſs, your manner, your air, if good, very probably may. Marcel can be of much more uſe to you than Ariſtotle. I would, upon my word, much rather you had Lord Bolingbroke's ſtyle and eloquence in ſpeaking and writing, than all the learning of the Academy of Sciences, the Royal Society, and the two Univerſities united."

In conſequence of this ſentiment, his lordſhip adds,

"What a happy period of your life is this! Pleaſure is now, and ought to be, your buſineſs. While you were younger, dry rules, and unconnected words, were the unpleaſant objects of your labours. When you grow older, the anxiety, the vexations, the diſappointments, inſeparable from public buſineſs, will require the greateſt ſhare of your time and attention; your pleaſures may, indeed, conduce to your buſineſs, and your buſineſs will quicken your pleaſures; but ſtill your time muſt, at leaſt, be divided: whereas now it is wholly your own, and cannot be ſo well employed as in the pleaſures of a gentleman. The world is now the only book you want, and almoſt the only one you ought to read: that neceſſary book can only be read in company, in public places, at meals, and in *ruelles*. You muſt be in the pleaſures, in order to learn the manners of good company. In premeditated, or in formal buſineſs, people conceal, or at leaſt endeavour to conceal, their characters; whereas pleaſures diſcover them, and the heart breaks out through the guard of the underſtanding. Thoſe are often propitious moments, for ſkilful negociators to improve. In your deſtination particularly, the able conduct of pleaſures is of infinite uſe: to keep a good table, and to do the honours of it gracefully, and *ſur le ton de la bonne compagnie*, is abſolutely neceſſary for a foreign miniſter. There is a certain light table chit-chat, uſeful to keep off improper and too ſerious ſubjects, which is only to be learned in the

pleaſures

pleaſures of good company. In truth it may be trifling; but, trifling as it is, a man of parts and experience of the world, will give an agreeable turn to it. *L'art de badiner agréablement*, is by no means to be deſpiſed."

A variety of letters here follow, that relate to Mr. Stanhope ſolely, or treat of ſuch things as are of importance only between father and ſon; after which we find one of a more general nature, and which is a happy ſupplement to the elegant ſermon on the *ſuaviter in modo, fortiter in re.*

Greenwich, June 13, O. S. 1751.

"My dear Friend,

"*Les bienſéances* are a moſt neceſſary part of the knowledge of the world. They conſiſt in the relations of perſons, things, time, and place; good ſenſe points them out, good company perfects them, (ſuppoſing always an attention and a deſire to pleaſe) and good policy recommends them.

"Were you to converſe with a king, you ought to be as eaſy and as unembarraſſed as with your own valet de chambre: but yet every look, word, and action, ſhould imply the utmoſt reſpect. What would be proper and well-bred with others, much your ſuperiors, would be abſurd and ill-bred with one ſo very much ſo. You muſt wait till you are ſpoken to; you muſt receive, not give, the ſubject of converſation; and you muſt even take care that the given ſubject of ſuch converſation do not lead you into any impropriety. The art would be to carry it, if poſſible, to ſome indirect flattery: ſuch as commending thoſe virtues in ſome other perſon, in which that prince either thinks he does, or at leaſt would be thought by others to excel. Almoſt the ſame precautions are neceſſary to be uſed with miniſters, generals, &c. who expect to be treated with very near the ſame reſpect as their maſters, and commonly deſerve it better. There is, however,

ver, this difference, that one may begin the converſation with them, if on their ſide it ſhould happen to drop, provided one does not carry it to any ſubject, upon which it is improper either for them to ſpeak or be ſpoken to. In theſe two caſes, certain attitudes and actions would be extremely abſurd, becauſe too eaſy, and conſequently diſreſpectful. As for inſtance, if you were to put your arms acroſs in your boſom, twirl your ſnuff box, trample with your feet, ſcratch your head, *&c.* it would be ſhockingly ill-bred in that company; and, indeed, not extremely well-bred in any other. The great difficulty in thoſe caſes, though a very ſurmountable one by attention and cuſtom, is to join perfect inward eaſe with perfect outward reſpect.

"In mixed companies with your equals (for in mixed companies all people are to a certain degree equal) greater eaſe and liberty are allowed; but they too have their bounds within *bienſéance*. There is a ſocial reſpect neceſſary: you may ſtart your own ſubject of converſation with modeſty, taking care however, *de ne jamais parler de cordes dans la maiſon d'un pendû*. Your words, geſtures, and attitudes, have a greater degree of latitude, though by no means an unbounded one. You may have your hands in your pockets, take ſnuff, ſit, ſtand, or occaſionally walk, as you like: but I believe you would not think it very *bienſéant* to whiſtle, put on your hat, looſen your garters or your buckles, lie down upon a couch, or go to bed, and welter in an eaſy chair. Theſe are negligences and freedoms which one can only take when quite alone: they are injurious to ſuperiors, ſhocking and offenſive to equals, brutal and inſulting to inferiors. That eaſineſs of carriage and behaviour, which is exceedingly engaging, widely differs from negligence and inattention, and by no means implies that one may do whatever one pleaſes: it only means that one is

not

not to be ſtiff, formal, embarraſſed, diſconcerted, and aſhamed, like country bumpkins, and people who have never been in good company; but it requires great attention to, and a ſcrupulous obſervation of *les bienſéances:* whatever one ought to do, is to be done with eaſe and unconcern; whatever is improper is not to be done at all. In mixed companies alſo, different ages and ſexes are to be differently addreſſed. You would not talk of your pleaſures to men of a certain age, gravity and dignity; they juſtly expect, from young people, a degree of deference and regard. You ſhould be full as eaſy with them, as with people of your own years: but your manner muſt be different; more reſpect muſt be implied; and it is not amiſs to inſinuate, that from them you expect to learn. It flatters and comforts age for not being able to take a part in the joy and titter of youth. To women you ſhould always addreſs yourſelf with great outward reſpect and attention, whatever you feel inwardly; their ſex is by long preſcription intitled to it; and it is among the duties of *bienſéance:* at the ſame time, that reſpect is very properly, and very agreeably, mixed with a degree of *enjouement*, if you have it: but then, that *badinage* muſt either directly or indirectly tend to their praiſe, and even not be liable to a malicious conſtruction to their diſadvantage. But here too, great attention muſt be had to the difference of age, rank, and ſituation. A *Maréchale* of fifty muſt not be played with like a young coquette of fifteen: reſpect and *ſerious enjouement*, if I may couple theſe two words, muſt be uſed with the former, and mere *badinage*, *zeſté même d'un peu de poliſſonerie*, is pardonable with the latter.

"Another important point of *les bienſéances*, ſeldom enough attended to, is not to run your own preſent humour and diſpoſition indiſcriminately againſt every body: but to obſerve, conform to, and adopt theirs. For example; if you happen to be in high humour,

and

and a flow of spirits, would you go and sing a *pont neuf* [a ballad], or cut a caper, to la Maréchale de Coigny, the Pope's Nuncio, or Abbé Sallier, or to any person of natural gravity or melancholy, or who at that time should be in grief? I believe not; as, on the other hand, I suppose, that if you were in low spirits, or real grief, you would not chuse to bewail your situation with *la petite Blot* [a lady of whom Mr. Stanhope was enamoured]. If you cannot command your present humour and disposition, single out those to converse with, who happen to be in the humour nearest to your own.

"Loud laughter is inconsistent with *les bienséances*, as it is the only illiberal and noisy testimony of the joy of the mob, at some very silly thing. A gentleman is often seen, but very seldom heard to laugh. Nothing is more contrary to *les bienséances* than horse-play; or *jeux de main* of any kind whatever, and has often very serious, sometimes very fatal consequences. Romping, struggling, throwing things at one another's head, are the becoming pleasantries of the mob, but degrade the gentleman; *giuoco di mano, giuoco di villano*, is a very true saying, among the few true sayings of the Italians.

"Peremptoriness and decision in young people is *contraire aux bienséances:* they should seldom seem to assert, and always use some softening mitigating expression; such as *s'il m'est permis de le dire, je croirois plutôt, si j'ose m'expliquer*, which soften the manner, without giving up or even weakening the thing. People of more age and experience expect, and are entitled to, that degree of deference.

"There is a *bienséance* also with regard to people of the lowest degree; a gentleman observes it with his footman, even with the beggar in the street. He considers them as objects of compassion, not of insult; he speaks to neither *d'un ton brusque*, but corrects the one cooly, and refuses the other with humanity. There is no one occasion in the world, in

in which *le ton bruſque* is becoming a gentleman. In ſhort, *les bienſéances* are another word for *manners*, and extend to every part of life. They are propriety: the graces ſhould attend in order to complete them: the graces enable us to do, genteely and pleaſingly, what *les bienſéances* require to be done at all. The latter are an obligation upon every man; the former are of infinite advantage and ornament to any man: May you unite both!

"Though you dance well, do not think that you dance well enough, and conſequently not endeavour to dance ſtill better. And though you ſhould be told that you are genteel, ſtill aim at being genteeler. If Marcel ſhould, do not you, be ſatisfied. Go on, court the graces all your life-time; you will find no better friends at court: they will ſpeak in your favour, to the hearts of princes, miniſters, and miſtreſſes.

"Now that all tumultuous paſſions and quick ſenſations have ſubſided with me, and that I have no tormenting cares nor boiſterous pleaſures to agitate me, my greateſt joy is to conſider the fair proſpect you have before you, and to hope and believe you will enjoy it. You are already in the world, at an age when others have hardly heard of it. Your character is hitherto not only unblemiſhed in its moral part, but even unſullied by any low, dirty, and ungentlemanlike vice; and will, I hope, continue ſo.

"Your knowledge is ſound, extenſive, and avowed, eſpecially in every thing relative to your deſtination. With ſuch materials to begin with, what then is wanting? Not fortune, as you have found by experience. You have had, and ſhall have, fortune ſufficient to aſſiſt your merit and your induſtry; and, if I can help it, you never ſhall have enough to make you negligent of either. You have too *mens ſana in corpore ſano*, the greateſt bleſſing of all. All therefore that you want, is as much

much in your power to acquire, as to eat your breakfaſt when ſet before you: it is only that knowledge of the world, that elegancy of manners, that univerſal politeneſs, and thoſe graces, which keeping good company, and ſeeing variety of places and characters, muſt inevitably, with the leaſt attention on your part, give you. Your foreign deſtination leads to the greateſt things, and your parliamentary ſituation will facilitate your progreſs; conſider then this pleaſing proſpect as attentively for yourſelf, as I conſider it for you. Labour on your part to realize it, as I will on mine to aſſiſt and enable you to do it. *Nullum numen abeſt, ſi ſit prudentia.*"

Mr. Stanhope came over to England in Auguſt 1751, and ſtaid with his father till the December following; by which means the correſpondence was for a time diſcontinued. Soon after Mr. Stanhope's return to Paris, we have the following ſtriking account of two extraordinary religious ſocieties; where we diſcover his lordſhip's knowledge and penetration in a little-expected branch: but he appears to have been ignorant of nothing in the hiſtory of man.

London, January 6, O. S. 1752.

"My dear Friend,

"I recommended to you, in my laſt, ſome inquiries into the conſtitution of that famous ſociety the *Sorbonne*; but as I cannot wholly truſt to the diligence of thoſe inquiries, I will give you here the out-lines of that eſtabliſhment; which may poſſibly excite you to inform yourſelf of particulars, which you are more *à portée* to know than I am.

"It was founded by Robert de Sorbon, in the year 1256, for ſixteen poor ſcholars in divinity; four of each nation, of the univerſity, of which it made a part; ſince that it hath been much extended and enriched, eſpecially by the liberality and pride of Cardinal Richelieu; who made it a magnificent building, for ſix-and-thirty doctors of that ſociety

to live in; beſides which, there are ſix profeſſors and ſchools for divinity. This ſociety hath been long famous for theological knowledge and exercitations. There unintelligible points are debated with paſſion, though they can never be determined by reaſon. Logical ſubtilties ſet common ſenſe at defiance; and myſtical refinements disfigure and diſguiſe the native beauty and ſimplicity of true natural religion; wild imaginations form ſyſtems, which weak minds adopt implicitly, and which ſenſe and reaſon oppoſe in vain: their voice is not ſtrong enough to be heard in ſchools of divinity. Political views are by no means neglected in thoſe ſacred places; and queſtions are agitated and decided, according to the degree of regard, or rather ſubmiſſion, which the Sovereign is pleaſed to ſhow the Church. Is the King a ſlave to the church, though a tyrant to the laity, the leaſt reſiſtance to his will ſhall be declared damnable. But if he will not acknowledge the ſuperiority of their ſpiritual, over his temporal, nor even admit their *imperium in imperio*, which is the leaſt they will compound for, it becomes meritorious, not only to reſiſt but to depoſe him. And I ſuppoſe that the bold propoſitions in Theſis their you mention, are a return for the valuation of *les biens du Clergé*.

" I would adviſe you, by all means to attend two or three of their public diſputations, in order to be informed both of the manner and the ſubſtance of thoſe ſcholaſtic exerciſes. Pray remember to go to all thoſe kind of things. Do not put it off, as one is too apt to do thoſe things which one knows can be done every day, or any day; for one afterwards repents extremely, when too late, the not having done them.

" But there is another (ſo called) religious ſociety, of which the minuteſt circumſtance deſerves attention and furniſhes great matter for uſeful reflections. You eaſily gueſs that I mean the ſociety of *les R. R. P. P. Jeſuites*, eſtabliſhed but in the year 1540, by a Bull of Pope Paul III. Its progreſs, and I may ſay its victories,

tories, were more rapid than thoſe of the Romans; for within the ſame century it governed all Europe; and in the next it extended it's influence over the whole world. Its founder was an abandoned profligate Spaniſh officer, Ignatius Loyola; who in the year 1521, being wounded in the leg at the ſiege of Pampelona, went mad from the ſmart of his wound, the reproaches of his conſcience, and his confinement, during which he read the Lives of the Saints. Conſciouſneſs of guilt, a fiery temper, and a wild imagination, the common ingredients of enthuſiaſm, made this madman devote himſelf to the particular ſervice of the Virgin Mary; whoſe knight errant he declared himſelf, in the very ſame form, in which the old knight errants in romances uſed to declare themſelves the knights and champions of certain beautiful and incomparable princeſſes, whom ſometimes they had, but oftner had not ſeen. For Dulcinea del Toboſo was by no means the firſt Princeſs, whom her faithful and valorous knight had never ſeen in his life. The enthuſiaſt went to the Holy Land, from whence he returned to Spain, where he began to learn Latin and Philoſophy at three-and-thirty years old, ſo that no doubt but he made a great progreſs in both. The better to carry on his mad and wicked deſigns, he choſe four Diſciples, or rather Apoſtles, all Spaniards, *viz.* Laynes, Salmeron, Bobadilla, and Rodriguez. He then compoſed the rules and conſtitutions of his order;—which, in the year 1547, was called the Order of Jeſuits, from the church of Jeſus in Rome, which was given them. Ignatius died in 1556, aged ſixty-five, thirty-five years after his converſion, and ſixteen years after the eſtabliſhment of his ſociety. He was canonized the year 1609, and is doubtleſs now a ſaint in heaven.

"If the religious and moral principles of this ſociety are to be deteſted, as they juſtly are; the wiſdom of their political principles is as juſtly to be admired. Suſpected, collectively as an order, of the greateſt

crimes, and convicted of many, they have either escaped punishment, or triumphed after it; as in France, in the reign of Henry IV. They have, directly or indirectly, governed the consciences and the councils of all the Catholic Princes in Europe: they almost governed China in the reign of Cang-ghi; and they are now actually in the possession of Paraguay, in America, pretending, but paying no obedience to the crown of Spain. As a collective body they are detested, even by all the Catholics, not excepting the clergy, both secular and regular; and yet as individuals, they are loved, respected, and they govern wherever they are.

"Two things, I believe, chiefly contribute to their success. The first, that passive, implicit, unlimited obedience to their General (who always resides at Rome) and to the superiors of their several houses, appointed by him. This obedience is observed by them all, to a most astonishing degree; and I believe, there is no one society in the world, of which so many individuals sacrifice their private interest to the general one of the Society itself. The second is, the education of youth, which they have in a manner ingrossed; there they give the first, and the first are the lasting impressions: those impressions are always calculated to be favourable to the society. I have known many Catholics, educated by the Jesuits, who, though they detested the society, from reason and knowledge, have always remained attached to it, from habit and prejudice. The Jesuits know, better than any set of people in the world, the importance of the art of pleasing, and study it more: they become all things to all men, in order to gain, not a few, but many. In Asia, Africa, and America, they become more than half Pagans, in order to convert the Pagans to be less than half Christians. In private families they begin by insinuating themselves as friends, they grow to be favourites, and they end *directors*. Their manners are not like those of any other regulars in the world,

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but gentle, polite, and engaging. They are all carefully bred up to that particular deſtination, to which they ſeem to have a natural turn; for which reaſon one ſees moſt Jeſuits excel in ſome particular thing. They even breed up ſome for martyrdom, in caſe of need; as the Superior of a Jeſuit ſeminary at Rome told Lord Bolingbroke: *E abbiamo anche martiri per il martirio, ſe biſogna.*

"Inform yourſelf minutely of every thing concerning this extraordinary eſtabliſhment: go into their houſes, get acquainted with individuals, hear ſome of them preach. The fineſt preacher I ever heard in my life is le Pere Neufville, who, I believe, preaches ſtill at Paris, and is ſo much in the beſt company, that you may eaſily get perſonally acquainted with him.

"If you would know their *morale*, read Paſchal's *Lettres Provinciales*, in which it is very truly diſplayed from their own writings.

"Upon the whole, this is certain, that a ſociety, of which ſo little good is ſaid, and ſo much ill believed, and that ſtill, not only ſubſiſts but flouriſhes, muſt be a very able one. It is always mentioned as a proof of the ſuperior abilities of the Cardinal Richelieu, that, though hated by all the nation, and ſtill more by his maſter, he kept his power in ſpite of both.

"I would earneſtly wiſh you to do every thing now, which I wiſh that I had done at your age, and did not do. Every country hath its peculiarities, which one can be much better informed of during one's reſidence there, than by reading all the books in the world afterwards. While you are in Catholic countries, inform yourſelf of all the forms and ceremonies of that tawdry church: ſee their convents, both of men and women, know their ſeveral rules and orders; attend their moſt remarkable ceremonies; have their terms of art explained to you, their *tierce*, *ſexte*, *nones*, *matines*, *vêpres*, *complies*; their *breviaires*, *roſaires*, *heures*, *chapelets*, *agnus*, &c. things that many people talk of from habit, though few know the

true meaning of any one of them. Converſe with, and ſtudy the characters of, ſome of theſe incarcerated enthuſiaſts. Frequent ſome *parloirs*, and ſee the air and manners of thoſe Recluſe, who are a diſtinct nation themſelves, and like no other."

We have next his Lordſhip's ſentiments with regard to the French and Engliſh theatres.

"I could wiſh," ſays he, "that there were a treaty made between the French and Engliſh theatres, in which both parties ſhould make conſiderable conceſſions. The Engliſh ought to give up their notorious violations of all the unities; and all their maſſacres, racks, dead bodies, and mangled carcaſes, which they ſo frequently exhibit upon their ſtage. The French ſhould engage to have more action, and leſs declamation; and not to cram and crowd things together, to almoſt a degree of impoſſibility, from a too ſcrupulous adherence to the unities. The Engliſh ſhould reſtrain the licentiouſneſs of their poets, and the French enlarge the liberty of theirs: their poets are the greateſt ſlaves in their country, and that is a bold word; ours are the moſt tumultuous ſubjects in England, and that is ſaying a good deal. Under ſuch regulations, one might hope to ſee a play, in which one ſhould not be lulled to ſleep by the length of a monotonical declamation, nor frightened and ſhocked by the barbarity of the action. The unity of time extended occaſionally to three or four days, and the unity of place broke into, as far as the ſame ſtreet, or ſometimes the ſame town; both which, I will affirm, are as probable, as four-and-twenty hours and the ſame room.

"More indulgence too, in my mind, ſhould be ſhown, than the French are willing to allow, to bright thoughts, and to ſhining images; for though, I confeſs, it is not very natural for a Hero or a Princeſs to ſay fine things, in all the violence of grief, love, rage, *&c.* yet, I can as well ſuppoſe that, as I can that they ſhould talk to themſelves for half an hour; which they muſt neceſſarily do, or no tragedy could be carried

ried on, unless they had recourse to a much greater absurdity, the choruſſes of the ancients. Tragedy is of a nature, that one must see it with a degree of self-deception; we must lend ourselves, a little, to the deluſion; and I am very willing to carry that complaiſance something farther than the French do.

"Tragedy must be something bigger than life, or it would not affect us. In nature, the most violent paſſions are silent; in Tragedy they must speak, and speak with dignity too. Hence the neceſſity of their being written in verſe, and, unfortunately for the French, from the weakneſs of their language in rhymes. And for the same reaſon, Cato the Stoic, expiring at Utica, rhymes maſculine and feminine, at Paris; and fetches his laſt breath at London, in most harmonious and correct blank verſe.

"It is quite otherwiſe with Comedy, which should be mere common life, and not one jot bigger. Every character should speak upon the ſtage, not only what it would utter in the ſituation there repreſented, but in the same manner in which it would expreſs it. For which reaſon, I cannot allow rhymes in Comedy, unleſs they were put into the mouth, and came out of the mouth, of a mad poet. But it is impoſſible to deceive one's ſelf enough (nor is it the leaſt neceſſary in Comedy) to ſuppoſe a dull rogue of an uſurer cheating, or *gros Jean* blundering in the fineſt rhymes in the world.

"As for Operas, they are eſſentially too abſurd and extravagant to mention: I look upon them as a magic ſcene, contrived to pleaſe the eyes and the ears, at the expence of the underſtanding; and I conſider ſinging, rhyming, and chiming Heroes and Princeſſes and Philoſophers, as I do the hills, the trees, the birds, and the beaſts, who amicably joined in one common country dance, to the irreſiſtible tune of Orpheus's lyre. Whenever I go to an Opera, I leave my ſenſe and reaſon at the door with my half guinea, and deliver myſelf up to my eyes and my ears.

"Thus I have made you my poetical confeſſion, in which I have acknowledged as many ſins againſt the eſtabliſhed taſte, in both countries, as a frank heretic could have owned againſt the eſtabliſhed church in either; but, I am now privileged by my age to taſte and think for myſelf, and not to care what other people think of me in thoſe reſpects; an advantage which youth, among its many advantages, hath not. It muſt occaſionally and outwardly conform, to a certain degree, to eſtabliſhed taſtes, faſhions, and deciſions. A young man may, with a becoming modeſty, diſſent, in private companies, from public opinions and prejudices: but he muſt not attack them with warmth, nor magiſterially ſet up his own ſentiments againſt them. Endeavour to hear and know all opinions; receive them with complaiſance; form your own with coolneſs, and give it with modeſty."

The tranſition from the ſtage to the world was eaſy, and his Lordſhip makes it with his uſual addreſs.

"How do you go on," adds he, "with the moſt uſeful and moſt neceſſary of all ſtudies, the ſtudy of the world? Do you find that you gain knowledge? And does your daily experience at once extend and demonſtrate your improvement? You will poſſibly aſk me how you can judge of that yourſelf. I will tell you a ſure way of knowing: Examine yourſelf, and ſee whether your notions of the world are changed, by experience, from what they were two years ago in theory; for that alone is one favourable ſymptom of improvement. At that age (I remember it in myſelf) every notion that one forms is erroneous; one hath ſeen few models, and thoſe none of the beſt, to form one's ſelf upon. One thinks that every thing is to be carried by ſpirit and vigour; that art is meanneſs, and that verſatility and complaiſance are the refuge of puſillanimity and weakneſs. This moſt miſtaken opinion gives an indelicacy, a *bruſquérie*, and a roughneſs, to the manners. Fools, who can never be undeceived, retain them as long as they live: re-

reflection, with a little experience, makes men of ſenſe ſhake them off ſoon. When they come to be a little better acquainted with themſelves, and with their own ſpecies, they diſcover, that plain right reaſon is, nine times in ten, the fettered and ſhackled attendant of the triumph of the heart and the paſſions; and, conſequently, they addreſs themſelves nine times in ten to the conqueror, not to the conquered: and conquerors, you know, muſt be applied to in the gentleſt, the moſt engaging, and the moſt inſinuating manner. Have you found out that every woman is infallibly to be gained by every ſort of flattery, and every man by one ſort or other? Have you diſcovered what variety of little things affect the heart, and how ſurely they collectively gain it? If you have, you have made ſome progreſs.

"I would try a man's knowledge of the world, as I would a ſchool-boy's knowledge of Horace; not by making him conſtrue *Mecænas atavis edite regibus*, which he could do in the firſt form; but by examining him as to the delicacy and *curioſa felicitas* of that poet. A man requires very little knowledge and experience of the world, to underſtand glaring, high-coloured, and decided characters; they are but few, and they ſtrike at firſt: but to diſtinguiſh the almoſt imperceptible ſhades, and the nice gradations of virtue and vice, ſenſe and folly, ſtrength and weakneſs (of which characters are commonly compoſed) demands ſome experience, great obſervation, and minute attention. In the ſame caſes moſt people do the ſame things, but with this material difference, upon which the ſucceſs commonly turns. — A man who hath ſtudied the world knows when to time, and where to place them; he hath analyſed the characters he applies to, and adapted his addreſs and his arguments to them: but a man, of what is called plain good ſenſe, who hath only reaſoned by himſelf, and not acted with mankind, miſ-times, miſ-places, runs precipitately and bluntly at the mark, and falls upon his noſe in the way.

"In the common manners of ſocial life, every man of common ſenſe hath the rudiments, the ABC of civility; the means not to offend; and even wiſhes to pleaſe: and, if he hath any real merit, will be received and tolerated in good company. But that is far from being enough; for though he may be received, he will never be deſired: though he does not offend, he will never be loved, but, like ſome little, inſignificant, neutral power, ſurrounded by great ones, he will neither be feared nor courted by any; but, by turns, invaded by all, whenever it is their intereſt.—A moſt contemptible ſituation! Whereas, a man who hath carefully attended to, and experienced, the various workings of the heart, and the artifices of the head; and who, by one ſhade, can trace the progreſſion of the whole colour; who can, at the proper times, employ all the ſeveral means of perſuading the underſtanding, and engaging the heart; may and will have enemies; but will and muſt have friends: he may be oppoſed, but he will be ſupported too; his talents may excite the jealouſy of ſome, but his engaging arts will make him beloved by many more; he will be conſiderable, he will be conſidered. Many different qualifications muſt conſpire to form ſuch a man, and to make him at once reſpectable and amiable, and the leaſt muſt be joined to the greateſt; the latter would be unavailing, without the former: and the former would be futile and frivolous, without the latter. Learning is acquired by reading books; but the much more neceſſary learning, the knowledge of the world, is only to be acquired by reading men, and ſtudying all the various editions of them. Many words in every language are generally thought to be ſynonimous; but thoſe who ſtudy the language attentively will find, that there is no ſuch thing; they will diſcover ſome little difference, ſome diſtinction, between all theſe words that are vulgarly called ſynonimous; one hath always more energy, extent, or delicacy, than another: it is the ſame with men; all are in general,

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and yet no two in particular, exactly alike. Thoſe who have not accurately ſtudied, perpetually miſtake them: they do not diſcern the ſhades and gradations that diſtinguiſh characters ſeemingly alike."

The ſame ſubject is continued in the following letter, with much perſpicuity, accuracy, and profound obſervation.

London, April 30, O. S. 1752.

"My dear Friend,

"*AVOIR du monde* is, in my opinion, a very juſt and happy expreſſion, for having addreſs, manners, and for knowing how to behave properly in all companies; and it implies very truly that a man, who hath not thoſe accompliſhments, is not of the world. Without them, the beſt parts are inefficient, civility is abſurd, and freedom offenſive. A learned parſon, ruſting in his cell, at Oxford or Cambridge, will reaſon admirably well upon the nature of man; will profoundly analyſe the head, the heart, the reaſon, the will, the paſſions, the ſenſes, the ſentiments, and all thoſe ſubdiviſions of we know not what; and yet, unfortunately, he knows nothing of man: for he hath not lived with him; and is ignorant of all the various modes, habits, prejudices, and taſtes, that always influence, and often determine him. He views men as he does colours in Sir Iſaac Newton's priſm, where only the capital ones are ſeen; but an experienced dyer knows all the various ſhades and gradations, together with the reſult of their ſeveral mixtures. Few men are of one plain, decided colour; moſt are mixed, ſhaded, and blended; and vary as much from different ſituations, as changeable ſilks do from different lights. The man *qui a du monde* knows all this from his own experience and obſervation: the conceited, cloiſtered philoſopher knows nothing of it but from his own theory; his practice is abſurd and improper; and he acts as aukwardly as a man would dance, who had never ſeen others dance, nor learned of a dancing-maſter; but who had only ſtudied the

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notes by which dances are now pricked down, as well as tunes.

"Obſerve and imitate, then, the addreſs, the arts, and the manners of thoſe *qui a du monde*: ſee by what methods they firſt make, and afterwards improve impreſſions in their favour. Thoſe impreſſions are much oftener owing to little cauſes, than to intrinſic merit; which is leſs volatile, and hath not ſo ſudden an effect. Strong minds have undoubtedly an aſcendant over weak ones, as Galigai Maréchale d'Ancre very juſtly deſerved, when, to the diſgrace and reproach of thoſe times, ſhe was executed for having governed Mary of Medicis by the arts of witchcraft and magic. But then the aſcendant is to be gained by degrees, and by thoſe arts only which experience, and the knowledge of the world teaches; for few are mean enough to be bullied, though moſt are weak enough to be bubbled. I have often ſeen people of ſuperior, governed by people of much inferior parts, without knowing or even ſuſpecting that they were ſo governed. This can only happen, when thoſe people of inferior parts have more worldly dexterity and experience, than thoſe they govern. They ſee the weak and unguarded part, and apply to it: they take it, and all the reſt follows. Would you gain either men or women, and every man of ſenſe deſires to gain both, *il faut du monde*. You have had more opportunities than ever any man had, at your age, of acquiring *ce monde*; you have been in the beſt companies of moſt countries, at an age when others have hardly been in any company at all. You are maſter of all thoſe languages, which John Trott ſeldom ſpeaks at all, and never well; conſequently you need be a ſtranger no where. This is the way, and the only way, of having *du monde*; but if you have it not, and have ſtill any coarſe ruſticity about you, may not one apply to you the *ruſticus expectat* of Horace?

"This knowledge of the world teaches us more particularly two things, both which are of infinite

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conſequence, and to neither of which nature inclines us; I mean the command of our temper, and of our countenance. A man who has no *monde* is inflamed with anger, or annihilated with ſhame, at every diſagreeable incident: the one makes him act and talk like a madman, the other makes him look like a fool. But a man who has *du monde*, ſeems not to underſtand what he cannot or ought not reſent. If he makes a ſlip himſelf, he recovers it by his coolneſs, inſtead of plunging deeper by his confuſion, like a ſtumbling horſe. He is firm, but gentle; and practiſes that moſt excellent maxim, *ſuaviter in modo, fortiter in re.* The other is the *volto ſciolto e penſieri ſtretti.* People, unuſed to the world, have babbling countenances; and are unſkilful enough to ſhow, what they have ſenſe enough not to tell. In the courſe of the world, a man muſt very often put on an eaſy, frank countenance, upon very diſagreeable occaſions; he muſt ſeem pleaſed, when he is very much otherwiſe; he muſt be able to accoſt and receive with ſmiles, thoſe whom he would much rather meet with ſwords. In courts he muſt not turn himſelf inſide out. All this may, nay muſt be done, without falſehood and treachery: for it muſt go no farther than politeneſs and manners, and muſt ſtop ſhort of aſſurances and profeſſions of ſimulated friendſhip. Good manners, to thoſe one does not love, are no more a breach of truth, than your humble ſervant at the bottom of a challenge is; they are univerſally agreed upon and underſtood, to be things of courſe. They are neceſſary guards of the decency, and peace of ſociety: they muſt only act defenſively; and then not with arms poiſoned by perfidy. Truth, but not the whole truth, muſt be the invariable principal of every man, who hath either religion, honour, or prudence. Thoſe who violate it, may be cunning, but they are not able. Lies and perfidy are the refuge of fools and cowards. Adieu!"

Soon after the date of this letter, Mr. Stanhope left Paris, to viſit the German courts; his Lordſhip's letters,

letters, therefore during the remaining part of the year 1752, are almoſt entirely particular. We find however two of a different kind, and which have an evident relation to the general ſyſtem.

London, Sept. 26, 1752.

" My dear Friend,

" AS you chiefly employ, or rather wholly engroſs my thoughts, I ſee every day, with increaſing pleaſure, the fair proſpect which you have before you. I had two views in your education; they draw nearer and nearer, and I have now very little reaſon to diſtruſt your anſwering them fully. Thoſe two, were Parliamentary and Foreign affairs. In conſequence of thoſe views, I took care firſt to give you a ſufficient ſtock of ſound learning, and next, an early knowledge of the world. Without making a figure in Parliament, no man can make any in this country; and eloquence alone enables a man to make a figure in Parliament, unleſs it be a very mean and contemptible one, which thoſe make there who ſilently vote, and who do *pedibus ire in ſententiam*. Foreign affairs, when ſkilfully managed, and ſupported by a parliamentary reputation, lead to whatever is moſt conſiderable in this country. You have the languages neceſſary for that purpoſe, with a ſufficient fund of hiſtorical and treaty knowledge; that is to ſay, you have the Matter ready, and only want the Manner. Your objects being thus fixed, I recommend to you to have them conſtantly in your thoughts, and to direct your reading, your actions, and your words, to thoſe views. Moſt people think only *ex re nata*, and few *ex profeſſo*: I would have you do both, but begin with the latter. I explain myſelf: Lay down certain principles, and reaſon and act conſequentially from them. As for example; ſay to yourſelf, I will make a figure in Parliament, and in order to do that, I muſt not only ſpeak, but ſpeak very well. Speaking mere common ſenſe will by no means do; and I muſt ſpeak not only correctly but ele-

elegantly; and not only elegantly but eloquently. In order to this, I will firſt take pains to get an habitual, but unaffected, purity, correctneſs, and elegancy of ſtyle in my common converſation; I will ſeek for the beſt words, and take care to reject improper, inexpreſſive, and vulgar ones. I will read the greateſt maſters of oratory, both ancient and modern, and I will read them ſingly in that view. I will ſtudy Demoſthenes and Cicero, not to diſcover an old Athenian or Roman cuſtom, nor to puzzle myſelf with the value of talents, mines, drachms, and ſeſterces, like the learned blockheads in *us*; but to obſerve their choice of words, their harmony of diction, their method, their diſtribution, their exordia, to engage the favour and attention of their audience; and their perorations, to enforce what they have ſaid, and to leave a ſtrong impreſſion upon the paſſions. Nor will I be pedant enough to neglect the moderns; for I will likewiſe ſtudy Atterbury, Dryden, Pope, and Bolingbroke;—nay, I will read every thing that I do read, in that intention, and never ceaſe improving and refining my ſtyle upon the beſt models, till at laſt I become a model of eloquence myſelf, which it is in every man's power, by care, to be. If you ſet out upon this principle, and keep it conſtantly in your mind, every company you go into, and every book you read, will contribute to your improvement, either by ſhowing you what to imitate, or what to avoid. Are you to give an account of any thing to a mixed company? or are you to endeavour to perſuade either man or woman? This principle, fixed in your mind, will make you carefully attend to the choice of your words, and to the clearneſs and harmony of your diction.

"So much for your parliamentary object; now to the foreign one.

"Lay down firſt thoſe principles which are abſolutely neceſſary to form a ſkilful and ſucceſsful negotiation, and form yourſelf accordingly. What are they? Firſt, the clear hiſtorical knowledge of paſt tranſactions

tions of that kind. That you have pretty well already, and will have daily more and more; for, in conſequence of that principle, you will read hiſtory, memoirs, anecdotes, &c. in that view chiefly. The other neceſſary talents for negotiation are, the great art of pleaſing, and engaging the affection and confidence, not only of thoſe with whom you are to co-operate, but even of thoſe whom you are to oppoſe: to conceal your own thoughts and views, and to diſcover other people's: to engage other people's confidence, by a ſeeming chearful frankneſs and openneſs, without going a ſtep too far: to get the perſonal favour of the King, Prince, Miniſters, or Miſtreſs, of the Court to which you are ſent: to gain the abſolute command over your temper and your countenance, that no heat may provoke you to ſay, nor change of countenance to betray, what ſhould be a ſecret. To familiarize and domeſticate yourſelf in the houſes of the moſt conſiderable people of the place, ſo as to be received there rather as a friend to the family, than as a foreigner.—Having theſe principles conſtantly in your thoughts, every thing you do and every thing you ſay, will ſome way or other tend to your main view: and common converſation will gradually fit you for it. You will get an habit of checking any riſing heat; you will be upon your guard againſt any indiſcreet expreſſion; you will by degrees get the command of your countenance, ſo as not to change it upon any the moſt ſudden accident: and you will, above all things, labour to acquire the great art of pleaſing, without which nothing is to be done. Company is, in truth, a conſtant ſtate of negotiation; and if you attend to it in that view, will qualify you for any. By the ſame means that you make a friend, guard againſt an enemy, or gain a miſtreſs; you will make an advantageous treaty, baffle thoſe who counteract you, and gain the Court you are ſent to. Make this uſe of all the company you keep, and your very pleaſures will make you a ſucceſsful Negotiator. Pleaſe all who are worth pleaſing; offend none. Keep your own ſecret, and

get

get out other people's. Keep your own temper, and artfully warm other people's. Counterwork your rivals with diligence and dexterity, but at the ſame time with the utmoſt perſonal civility to them: and be firm without heat. Meſſieurs d' Avaux and Servien did no more than this. I muſt make one obſervation, in confirmation of this aſſertion; which is, that the moſt eminent Negotiators have always been the politeſt and beſt-bred men in company; even what the women call the *prettieſt men*. For God's ſake, never loſe view of theſe two, your capital objects; bend every thing to them, try every thing by their rules, and calculate every thing for their purpoſes. What is peculiar to theſe two objects is, that they require nothing, but what one's own vanity, intereſt, and pleaſure, would make one do independently of them. If a man were never to be in buſineſs, and always to lead a private life, would he not deſire to pleaſe and to perſuade?—So that, in your two deſtinations, your fortune and figure luckily conſpire with your vanity and your pleaſures. Nay more; a foreign miniſter, I will maintain it, can never be a good man of buſineſs, if he is not an agreeable man of pleaſure too. Half his buſineſs is done by the help of his pleaſures; his views are carried on, and perhaps beſt, and moſt unſuſpectedly, at balls, ſuppers, aſſemblies, and parties of pleaſure; by intrigues with women, and connections inſenſibly formed with men, at thoſe unguarded hours of amuſement."

The next letter is likewiſe on foreign negotiation, and contains an anecdote of his Lordſhip's addreſs, well worth preſerving.

London, Sept. 29, 1752.

"My dear Friend,

"THERE is nothing ſo neceſſary, but, at the ſame time, there is nothing more difficult (I know it by experience) for you young fellows, than to know how to behave yourſelves prudently towards thoſe whom you

you do not like. Your paſſions are warm, and your heads are light; you hate all thoſe who oppoſe your views, either of ambition or love; and a rival in either is almoſt a ſynonimous term for an enemy. Whenever you meet ſuch a man, you are aukwardly cold to him, at beſt; but often rude, and always deſirous to give him ſome indirect ſlap. This is unreaſonable; for one man has as good a right to purſue an employment, or a miſtreſs, as another; but it is, into the bargain, extremely imprudent; becauſe you commonly defeat your own purpoſe by it, and while you are contending with each other, a third often prevails. I grant you, that the ſituation is irkſome; a man cannot help thinking as he thinks, nor feeling what he feels; and it is a very tender and ſore point to be thwarted and counterworked in one's purſuits at Court, or with a miſtreſs: but prudence and abilities muſt check the effects, though they cannot remove the cauſe. Both the pretenders make themſelves diſagreeable to their miſtreſs, when they ſpoil the company by their pouting, or their ſparring; whereas, if one of them has command enough over himſelf (whatever he may feel inwardly) to be chearful, gay, and eaſily and unaffectedly civil to the other, as if there were no manner of competition between them, the Lady will certainly like him the beſt, and his rival will be ten times more humbled and diſcouraged; for he will look upon ſuch a behaviour as a proof of the triumph and ſecurity of his rival; he will grow outrageous with the Lady, and the warmth of his reproaches will probably bring on a quarrel between them. It is the ſame in buſineſs; where he who can command his temper and his countenance the beſt, will always have an infinite advantage over the other. This is what the French call *un procédé honnête et galant* to *pique* yourſelf upon ſhowing particular civilities to a man, to whom leſſer minds would, in the ſame caſe, ſhow diſlike, or perhaps rudeneſs. I will give you an inſtance of this in my own caſe; and pray remember it, when-

whenever you come to be, as I hope you will, in a like ſituation.

" When I went to the Hague, in 1744, it was to engage the Dutch to come roundly into the war, and to ſtipulate their quotas of troops, *&c.* your acquaintance, the Abbé de la Ville, was there on the part of France, to endeavour to hinder them from coming into the war at all. I was informed, and very ſorry to hear it, that he had abilities, temper, and induſtry. We could not viſit, our two maſters being at war; but the firſt time I met him at a third place, I got ſomebody to preſent me to him; and I told him, that though we were to be national enemies, I flattered myſelf we might be, however, perſonal friends; with a good deal more of the ſame kind; which he returned in full as polite a manner. Two days afterwards I went, early in the morning, to ſolicit the Deputies of Amſterdam, where I found l'Abbé de la Ville, who had been beforehand with me; upon which I addreſſed myſelf to the Deputies, and ſaid, ſmilingly, *Je ſuis bien fache Meſſieurs de trouver mon Ennemi avec vous, je le connois deja aſſez pour le craindre, la partie n'eſt pas égale, mais je me fie á vos propres interêts contre les talens de mon Ennemi, et au moins ſi je n'ai pas eu la premier mot j'aurai le dernier aujourd' hui.* " I am ſorry, Gentlemen, to find my adverſary with you; I know him already ſufficiently to fear him; we are not on a footing: but I truſt to your true intereſt, againſt the talents of my enemy; and if I have not to-day had the firſt word, I ſhall at leaſt have the laſt." They ſmiled; the Abbé was pleaſed with the compliment, and the manner of it, ſtayed about a quarter of an hour, and then left me to my Deputies, with whom I continued upon the ſame tone, though in a very ſerious manner, and told them that I was only come to ſtate their own true intereſts to them, plainly and ſimply, without any of thoſe arts, which it was neceſſary for my friend to make uſe of to deceive them. I carried

ried my point, and continued my *procédé* with the Abbé; and by this eaſy and polite commerce with him, at third places, I often found means to fiſh out from him whereabouts he was.

" Remember, there are but two *procédés* in the world for a gentleman and a man of parts: either extreme politeneſs, or knocking down. If a man, notoriouſly and deſignedly inſults and affronts you, knock him down; but if he only injures you, your beſt revenge is to be extremely civil to him, and return him the compliment, perhaps with intereſt. This is not perfidy nor diſſimulation; it would be ſo, if you were, at the ſame time, to make profeſſions of eſteem and friendſhip to this man; which I by no means recommend, but, on the contrary, abhor. But all acts of civility, are, by common conſent, underſtood to be no more than a conformity to cuſtom, for the quiet and conveniency of ſociety, the *agrémens* of which are not to be diſturbed by private diſlikes and jealouſies. Only women and little minds pout and ſpar for the entertainment of the company, that always laugh at, and never pity them. For my own part, though I would by no means give up any point to a competitor, yet I would pique myſelf upon ſhowing him rather more civility than to another man. In the firſt place, this *procédé* infallibly makes all *les rieurs* of your ſide, which is a conſiderable party; and in the next place, it certainly pleaſes the object of the competition, be it either man or woman; who never fail to ſay, upon ſuch an occaſion, that *they muſt own you have behaved yourſelf very handſomely in the whole affair*. The world judges from the appearances of things, and not from the reality, which few are able, and ſtill fewer are inclined to fathom; and a man, who will take care always to be in the right of thoſe things, may afford to be ſometimes a little wrong in the more eſſential ones: there is a willingneſs, a deſire to excuſe him. With nine people in ten, good-breeding paſſes for good-

good-nature, and they take attentions for good offices. At courts there will be always coldnesses, dislikes, jealousies, and hatreds, the harvest being but small, in proportion to the number of labourers; but then, as they arise often, they die soon, unless they are perpetuated by the manner in which they have been carried on, more than by the matter which occasioned them. The turns and vicissitudes of courts frequently make friends of enemies, and enemies of friends; you must labour, therefore, to acquire that great and uncommon talent, of hating with good-breeding, and loving with prudence; to make no quarrel irreconcileable, by silly and unnecessary indications of anger; and no friendship dangerous, in case it breaks, by a wanton, indiscreet, and unreserved confidence."

I shall conclude the System of Education with the following Letter, and the Maxims that accompany it; which are properly nothing more than a recapitulation, or epitome, of the leading sentiments in the System. I have taken the same liberty with the Maxims which I took with the Letters, rejecting such as I judged of little consequence; and that I might not have the trouble of controverting sentiments a second time, I have inserted none that I thought disputable.

London, Jan. 15, 1753.

"My dear Friend.

"I NEVER think my time so well employed as when I think it employed to your advantage, You have long had the greatest share of it; you now engross it. The moment is now decisive; the piece is going to be exhibited to the public; the mere outlines, and the general colouring, are not sufficient to attract the eyes, and to secure applause; but the last finishing, artful, and delicate strokes, are necessary. Skilful Judges will discern, and acknowledge their merit; the ignorant will, without knowing why, feel their

their power. In that view, I have thrown together, for your uſe, the incloſed Maxims; or, to ſpeak more properly, obſervations on men and things; for I have no merit as to the invention; I am no ſyſtem-monger; and, inſtead of giving way to my imagination, I have only conſulted my memory; and my concluſions are all drawn from facts, not from fancy. Moſt maxim-mongers have preferred the prettineſs to the juſtneſs of a thought, and the turn to the truth; but I have refuſed myſelf to every thing that my own experience did not juſtify and confirm. I wiſh you would conſider them ſeriouſly, and ſeparately, and recur to them again *pro re natâ* in ſimilar caſes.

"Young men are as apt to think themſelves wiſe enough, as drunken men are to think themſelves ſober enough. They look upon ſpirit to be a much better thing than experience; which they call coldneſs. They are but half miſtaken; for though ſpirit without experience is dangerous, experience without ſpirit is languid and defective. Their union, which is very rare, is perfection: you may join them, if you pleaſe; for all my experience is at your ſervice; and I do not deſire one grain of your ſpirit in return. Uſe them both; and let them reciprocally animate and check each other. I mean here, by the ſpirit of youth, only the vivacity and preſumption of youth; which hinder them from ſeeing the difficulties, or dangers of an undertaking; but I do not mean, what the ſilly vulgar calls ſpirit, by which they are captious, jealous of their rank, ſuſpicious of being undervalued, and tart (as they call it) in their repartees, upon the ſlighteſt occaſions. This is an evil, and a very ſilly ſpirit, which ſhould be driven out, and transferred to an herd of ſwine. This is not the ſpirit of a man of faſhion, who has kept good company. People of an ordinary, low education, when they happen to fall into good company, imagine themſelves the only object of its attention; if the company whiſpers, it is, to be ſure, concerning them;

them; if they laugh, it is at them; and if any thing ambiguous, that by the moſt forced interpretation can be applied to them, happens to be ſaid, they are convinced that it was meant at them; upon which they grow out of countenance firſt, and then angry. This miſtake is very well ridiculed in the Stratagem, where Scrub ſays, *I am ſure they talked of me, for they laughed conſumedly.* A well-bred man ſeldom thinks, but never ſeems to think, himſelf ſlighted, undervalued, or laughed at in company, unleſs where it is ſo plainly marked out, that his honour obliges him to reſent it in a proper manner; *mais les honnêtes gens ne ſe boudent jamais.*

"I will admit, that it is very difficult to command one's-ſelf enough, to behave with eaſe, frankneſs, and good-breeding towards thoſe, who one knows diſlike, ſlight, and injure one, as far as they can without perſonal conſequences; but I aſſert, you muſt embrace the man you hate, if you cannot be juſtified in knocking him down; for otherwiſe you avow the injury which you cannot revenge. A prudent Cuckold (and there are many ſuch at Paris) pockets his horns, when he cannot gore with them; and will not add to the triumph of his maker, by only butting with them ineffectually. A ſeeming ignorance is very often a moſt neceſſary part of worldly knowledge. It is, for inſtance, commonly adviſeable to ſeem ignorant of what people offer to tell you; and, when they ſay, Have not you heard of ſuch a thing? to anſwer, No, and to let them go on, though you know it already. Some have a pleaſure in telling it, becauſe they think they tell it well; others have a pride in it, as being the ſagacious diſcoverers; and many have a vanity in ſhowing that they have been, though very undeſervedly, truſted: all theſe would be diſappointed, and conſeqently diſpleaſed, if you ſaid, Yes.

"Seem always ignorant (unleſs to one moſt intimate friend) of all matters of private ſcandal and defamation,

defamation, though you ſhould hear them a thouſand times; for the parties affected always look upon the receiver to be almoſt as bad as the thief: and, whenever they become the topic of converſation, ſeem to be a ſceptic, though you are really a ſerious believer; and always take the extenuating part. But all this ſeeming ignorance ſhould be joined to thorough and extenſive private informations: and, indeed, it is the beſt method of procuring them; for moſt people have ſuch a vanity in ſhowing a ſuperiority over others, though but for a moment, and in the mereſt trifles, that they will tell you what they ſhould not, rather than not ſhow that they can tell what you did not know: beſides, that ſuch ſeeming ignorance will make you paſs for incurious, and conſequently undeſigning. However, fiſh for facts, and take pains to be well informed of every thing that paſſes; but fiſh judiciouſly, and not always, nor indeed often, in the ſhape of direct queſtions; which always put people upon their guard, and, often repeated, grow tireſome. But ſometimes take the things that you would know, for granted; upon which ſomebody will, kindly and officiouſly, ſet you right: ſometimes ſay, that you have heard ſo and ſo; and at other times ſeem to know more than you do, in order to know all that you want: but avoid direct queſtioning, as much as you can.

"All theſe neceſſary arts of the world require conſtant attention, preſence of mind, and coolneſs. Achilles, though invulnerable, never went to battle, but completely armed. Courts are to be the theatres of your wars, where you ſhould be always as completely armed, and even with the addition of a heel-piece. The leaſt inattention, the leaſt *diſtraction*, may prove fatal. I would fain ſee you what pedants call *omnis homo*, and what Pope much better calls *all-accompliſhed*: you have the means in your power, add the will, and you may bring it about."

MAX-

MAXIMS,

By the Earl of CHESTERFIELD.

" A Proper ſecrecy is the only myſtery of able men; myſtery is the only ſecrecy of weak and cunning ones.

" A man who tells nothing, or who tells all, will equally have nothing told him.

" If a fool knows a ſecret, he tells it becauſe he is a fool: if a knave knows one, he tells it wherever it is his intereſt to tell it. But women, and young men, are very apt to tell what ſecrets they know, from the vanity of having been truſted. Truſt none of theſe, wherever you can help it.

" Inattention to the preſent buſineſs, be it what it will; the doing one thing, and thinking at the ſame time of another, or the attempting to do two things at once; are the never failing ſigns of a little frivolous mind.

" A man who cannot command his temper, his attention, and his countenance, ſhould not think of being a man of buſineſs. The weakeſt man in the world can avail himſelf of the paſſion of the wiſeſt. The inattentive man cannot know the buſineſs, and conſequently cannot do it. And he who cannot command his countenance, may even as well tell his thoughts as ſhow them.

" Diſtruſt all thoſe who love you extremely upon a very ſlight acquaintance, and without any viſible reaſon. Be upon your guard, too, againſt thoſe, who confeſs, as their weakneſſes, all the Cardinal virtues.

" In your friendſhips, and in your enmities, let your confidence, and your hoſtilities have certain bounds: make not the former dangerous, nor the

latter irreconcileable. There are ſtrange viciſſitudes in buſineſs!

"Smooth your way to the head, through the heart. The way of reaſon is a good one; but it is commonly ſomething longer, and perhaps not ſo ſure.

"*Spirit* is now a very faſhionable word: to act with Spirit, to ſpeak with Spirit, means only, to act raſhly, and to talk indiſcreetly. An able man ſhows his Spirit, by gentle words and reſolute actions: he is neither hot nor timid.

"Patience is a moſt neceſſary qualification for buſineſs: many a man would rather you heard his ſtory, than granted his requeſt. One muſt ſeem to hear the unreaſonable demands of the petulant, unmoved, and the tedious details of the dull, untired. That is the leaſt price that a man muſt pay for a high ſtation.

"It is always right to detect a fraud, and to perceive a folly; but it is often very wrong to expoſe either. A man of buſineſs ſhould always have his eyes open; but muſt often ſeem to have them ſhut.

"In Courts, nobody ſhould be below your management and attention: the links that form the Court-chain are innumerable and inconceiveable. You muſt hear with patience the dull grievances of a Gentleman Uſher, or a Page of the Back-ſtairs; who, very probably, lies with ſome near relation of the favourite maid, of the favourite Miſtreſs, of the favourite Miniſter, or perhaps of the King himſelf; and who, conſequently, may do you more dark and indirect good, or harm, than the firſt man of quality.

"A young man, be his merit what it will, can never raiſe himſelf; but muſt, like the ivy round the oak, twine himſelf round ſome man of great power and intereſt. You muſt belong to a Miniſter ſome time, before any body will belong to you. And an inviolable fidelity to that Miniſter, even in his diſgrace, will be meritorious, and recommend you to the

the next. Miniſters love a perſonal, much more than a party attachment.

" As Kings are begotten and born like other men, it is to be preſumed that they are of the human ſpecies; and, perhaps, had they the ſame education, they might prove like other men. But, flattered from their cradles, their hearts are corrupted, and their heads are turned, ſo that they ſeem to be a ſpecies by themſelves. No King ever ſaid to himſelf, *Homo ſum, nihil humani a me alienum puto.*

" Flattery cannot be too ſtrong for them; drunk with it from their infancy, like old drinkers, they require drams.

" They prefer a perſonal attachment to a public ſervice, and reward it better. They are vain and weak enough to look upon it as a free-will offering to their merit, and not as a burnt ſacrifice to their power.

" In Courts, *(and every where elſe)* baſhfulneſs and timidity are as prejudicial on one hand, as impudence and raſhneſs are on the other. A ſteady aſſurance, and a cool intrepidity, with an exterior modeſty, are the true and neceſſary medium.

" Never apply for what you ſee very little probability of obtaining; for you will, by aſking improper and unattainable things, accuſtom the Miniſters to refuſe you ſo often, that they will find it eaſy to refuſe you the propereſt, and moſt reaſonable ones. It is a common, but a moſt miſtaken rule at Court, to aſk for every thing in order to get ſomething: you do get ſomething by it, it is true; but that ſomething is, refuſals and ridicule."—This maxim, like the former, is of general application.

" It is hard to ſay, which is the greateſt fool; he who tells the whole truth, or he who tells no truth at all. Character is as neceſſary in buſineſs as in trade. No man can deceive often in either.

" At Court, people embrace without acquaintance, ſerve one another without friendſhip, and in-

jure one another without hatred. Intereſt, not ſentiment, is the growth of that ſoil.

" A chearful, eaſy countenance and behaviour, are very uſeful at Court: they make fools think you a good-natured man; and they make deſigning men think you an undeſigning one.

" There are ſome occaſions in which a man muſt tell half his ſecret, in order to conceal the reſt; but there is ſeldom one in which a man ſhould tell all. Great ſkill is neceſſary to know how far to go, and where to ſtop.

" Ceremony is neceſſary in Courts, as the outwork and defence of manners.

" Flattery, though a baſe coin, is the neceſſary pocket-money at Court; where, by cuſtom and conſent, it has obtained ſuch a currency, that it is no longer a fraudulent, but a legal payment.

" If a Miniſter refuſes you a reaſonable requeſt, and either ſlights or injures you; if you have not the power to gratify your reſentment, have the wiſdom to conceal and diſſemble it. Seeming good-humour on your part may prevent rancour on his, and, perhaps, bring things right again: but if you have the power to hurt, hint modeſtly, that if provoked, you may, poſſibly, have the will too. Fear, when real, and well founded, is, perhaps, a more prevailing motive at Courts than love.

" Aukwardneſs is a more real diſadvantage, than it is generally thought to be; it often occaſions ridicule, it always leſſens dignity.

" A man's own good-breeding is his beſt ſecurity againſt other people's ill-manners.

" Good-breeding carries along with it a dignity, that is reſpected by the moſt petulant. Ill-breeding invites and authorizes the familiarity of the moſt timid. No man ever ſaid a pert thing to the Duke of Marlborough. No man ever ſaid a civil thing (though many a flattering one) to Sir Robert Walpole.

" Knowledge

" Knowledge may give weight, but accomplishments only give lustre; and many more people see than weigh.

" Most arts require long study and application; but the most useful art of all, that of pleasing, requires only the desire.

" It is to be presumed, that a man of common sense, who does not desire to please, desires nothing at all; since he must know that he cannot obtain any thing without it.

" A skilful negociator will most carefully distinguish between the little and the great objects of his business, and will be as frank and open in the former, as he will be secret and pertinacious in the latter." — This maxim holds equally true in common life.

" He will, by his manners and address, endeavour, at least, to make his public adversaries his personal friends. He will flatter and engage the Man, while he counterworks the Minister; and he will never alienate people's minds from him, by wrangling for points, either absolutely unattainable, or not worth attaining. He will make even a merit of giving up, what he could not or would not carry, and sell a trifle for a thousand times its value.

" Both simulation and dissimulation are absolutely necessary for a foreign Minister; and yet they must stop short of falsehood and perfidy: that middle point is the difficult one: there ability consists. He must often seem pleased, when he is vexed; and grave, when he is pleased; but he must never say either: that would be falsehood, an indelible stain to character.

" A foreign Minister should be a most exact œconomist; an expence proportioned to his appointments and fortune is necessary: but, on the other hand, debt is inevitable ruin to him. It sinks him into disgrace at the court where he resides, and into the most servile and abject dependance on the court

that ſent him. As he cannot reſent ill uſage, he is ſure to have enough of it.

" The Duc de Sully obſerves very juſtly, in his Memoirs, that nothing contributed more to his riſe, than that prudent œconomy which he had obſerved from his youth; and by which he had always a ſum of money before hand, in caſe of emergencies.

" It is very difficult to fix the particular point of œconomy; the beſt error of the two, is on the parſimonious ſide. That may be corrected, the other cannot.

" The reputation of generoſity is to be purchaſed pretty cheap; it does not depend ſo much upon a man's general expence, as it does upon his giving handſomely where it is proper to give at all. A man, for inſtance, who ſhould give a ſervant four ſhillings, would paſs for covetous, while he who gave him a crown, would be reckoned generous: ſo that the difference of theſe two oppoſite characters, turns upon one ſhilling. A man's character, in that particular, depends a great deal upon the report of his own ſervants; a mere trifle above common wages, makes their report favourable.

" Take care always to form your eſtabliſhment ſo much within your income, as to leave a ſufficient fund for unexpected contingencies, and a prudent liberality. There is hardly a year, in any man's life, in which a ſmall ſum of ready money may not be employed to great advantage."

CHAP. IX.

His Lordſhip's moſt admired Eſſays in the Paper called the WORLD. *His Poems. An Account of the latter Part of his Life. His Death and Character.*

THE earl of Cheſterfield having now compleated his ſon's education, his next care was to procure him a ſeat in the Houſe of Commons. This

This he effected, for the borough of Liskeard, in the parliament that met in the year 1754; and notwithstanding Mr. Stanhope's natural bashfulness, he spoke very soon after he took his seat. On that occasion his lordship sent him the following letter.

Bath, Nov. 27, 1754.

"My dear Friend,

"I heartily congratulate you upon the loss of your political maidenhead, of which I have received from others a very good account. I hear, that you were stopped for some time in your career; but recovered breath, and finished it very well. I am not surprised, nor indeed concerned, at your accident; for I remember the dreadful feeling of that situation in myself; and as it must require a most uncommon share of impudence to be unconcerned upon such an occasion, I am not sure that I am not rather glad you stopped. You must now think of hardening yourself by degrees, by using yourself insensibly to the sound of your own voice, and to the act (trifling as it seems) of rising up and sitting down again. Nothing will contribute so much to this as committee works, of elections at night, and of private bills in the morning. There asking short questions, moving for witnesses to be called in, and all that kind of small ware, will soon fit you to set up for yourself. I am told that you are much mortified at your accident; but without reason; pray, let it rather be a spur than a curb to you. Persevere, and, depend upon it, it will do well at last. When I say persevere, I do not mean that you should speak every day, nor in every debate. Moreover, I would not advise you to speak again upon public matters for some time, perhaps a month or two; but I mean, never lose view of that great object: pursue it with discretion, but pursue it always. *Pelotez en attendant partie.* You know I have always told you, that speaking in public was but a knack, which those who

apply to the moſt, will ſucceed in the beſt. Two old members, very good judges, have ſent me compliments upon this occaſion; and have aſſured me, that they plainly find *it will do*, though they perceived, from the natural confuſion you were in, that you neither ſaid all, or perhaps what you intended. Upon the whole, you have ſet out very well, and have ſufficient encouragement to go on. Attend therefore aſſiduouſly, and obſerve carefully all that paſſes in the Houſe; for it is only knowledge and experience that can make a debater. But if you ſtill want comfort, Mrs. ——, I hope, will adminiſter it to you; for, in my opinion, ſhe may, if ſhe will, be very comfortable; and with women, as with ſpeaking in parliament, perſeverance will moſt certainly prevail, ſooner or later.

"What little I have played for here, I have won; but that is very far from the conſiderable ſum which you have heared of. I play every evening from ſeven till ten, at a crown whiſt party, merely to ſave my eyes from reading or writing for three hours by candle-light. I propoſe being in town the week after next, and hope to carry back with me much more health than I brought down here. Good night."

Mr. Stanhope continued in England till the winter of the year 1756, when he was appointed Britiſh reſident at Hamburgh, and afterwards envoy extraordinary to the court of Dreſden. Thus the earl of Cheſterfield accompliſhed the two great objects which he had in view for his ſon, a ſeat in the houſe of commons, and a miniſterial department at a foreign court; but he never could make him, what he ſo ardently wiſhed, and ſo ſtrenuouſly endeavoured, the *all-accompliſhed* man. His lordſhip's diſappointment on this account, does not however appear to have hurt him ſo much as might have been expected, if we may judge by his letters. But he had a temper for any thing.

During

During Mr. Stanhope's reſidence in England, we cannot doubt but his fond father was as aſſiduous in giving him verbal inſtructions, as he had formerly been in giving him written ones. His lordſhip however found leiſure to write many elegant eſſays in a periodical paper called the WORLD, publiſhed about that time. Several of them are upon ſubjects ſimilar to thoſe treated in the Syſtem, and nearly in the ſame words, conſequently theſe would be improper here: others are upon temporary ſubjects, and thoſe would be equally improper: but ſuch as are affected by neither of theſe objections (which, however, happen to be very few) I ſhall give to the reader, in the form in which they firſt appeared.

The WORLD,

Numb. 120. THURSDAY, April 17, 1755.

"MOST people complain of fortune; few of nature: and the kinder they think the latter has been to them, the more they murmur at what they call the injuſtice of the former.

"Why have not I the riches, the rank, the power of ſuch and ſuch, is the common expoſtulation with fortune: but why have not I the merit, the talents, the wit, or the beauty of ſuch and ſuch others, is a reproach rarely or never made to nature.

"The truth is, that nature, ſeldom profuſe, and ſeldom niggardly, has diſtributed her gifts more equally than ſhe is generally ſuppoſed to have done. Education and ſituation make the great difference. Culture improves, and occaſions elicit natural talents. I make no doubt but that there are potentially (if I may uſe that pedantic word) many Bacons, Lockes, Newtons, Cæſars, Cromwells, and Marlboroughs at the plough-tail, behind counters, and, perhaps, even among the nobility; but the ſoil muſt be cultivated, and the ſeaſons favourable, for the fruit to have all its ſpirit and flavour.

"If

" If ſometimes our common parent has been a little partial, and not kept the ſcales quite even; if one preponderates too much, we throw into the lighter a due counterpoiſe of vanity, which never fails to ſet all right. Hence it happens, that hardly any one man would, without reſerve, in every particular, change with any other.

" Though all are thus ſatisfied with the diſpenſations of nature, how few liſten to her voice? How few follow her as a guide! In vain ſhe points out to us the plain and direct way to truth; vanity, fancy, affectation, and faſhion, aſſume her ſhape, and wind us through fairy-ground to folly and error.

" Theſe deviations from nature are often attended by ſerious conſequences, and always by ridiculous ones: for there is nothing truer than the trite obſervation, " that people are never ridiculous, for being " what they really are, but for affecting what they " they really are not." Affectation is the only ſource, and, at the ſame time, the only juſtifiable object of ridicule. No man whatſoever, be his pretenſions what they will, has a natural right to be ridiculous: it is an acquired right, and not to be acquired without ſome induſtry: which perhaps is the reaſon why ſo many people are ſo jealous and tenacious of it.

" Even ſome people's VICES are not their own, but affected and adopted (though at the ſame time unenjoyed) in hopes of ſhining in thoſe faſhionable ſocieties, where the reputation of certain vices gives luſtre. In theſe caſes, the execution is commonly as aukward, as the deſign is abſurd; and the ridicule equals the guilt.

" This calls to my mind a thing that really happened not many years ago. A young fellow of ſome rank and fortune, juſt let looſe from the univerſity, reſolved, in order to make a figure in the world, to aſſume the ſhining character of, what he called, a rake. By way of learning the rudiments of his intended

tended profession, he frequented the theatres, where he was often drunk, and always noisy. Being one night at the representation of that most absurd play, the *Libertine destroyed*, he was so charmed with the profligacy of the hero of the piece, that, to the edification of the audience, he swore many oaths that he would be the Libertine *destroyed*. A discreet friend of his, who sat by him, kindly represented to him, that to be the *Libertine* was a laudable design, which he greatly approved of; but to be the Libertine *destroyed*, seemed to be an unnecessary part of his plan, and rather rash. He persisted, however, in his first resolution, and insisted upon being the Libertine, and *destroyed*. Probably he was so; at least the presumption is in his favour. There are, I am persuaded, so many cases of this nature, that for my own part I would desire no greater step towards the reformation of manners for the next twenty years, than that people should have no vices but *their own*.

" The blockhead who affects wisdom, because nature has given him dullness, becomes ridiculous only by his adopted character; whereas he might have stagnated unobserved in his native mud, or perhaps have engrossed deeds, collected shells, and studied heraldry, or logic, with some success.

" The shining coxcomb aims at all, and decides finally upon every thing, because nature has given him pertness. The degree of parts and animal spirits, necessary to constitute that character, if properly applied, might have made him useful in many parts of life; but his affectation and presumption make him useless in most, and ridiculous in all.

" The septuagenary fine gentleman might probably, from his long experience and knowledge of the world, be esteemed and respected in the several relations of domestic life, which, at his age, nature points out to him: but he will most ridiculously spin out the rotten thread of his former gallantries. He dresses,

dreſſes, languiſhes, ogles, as he did at five-and-twenty; and modeſty intimates that he is not without a *bonne fortune*; which *bonne fortune* at laſt appears to be the proſtitute he had long kept (not to himſelf), whom he marries and owns, becauſe *the poor girl was ſo fond of him, and ſo deſirous to be made an honeſt woman.*

"The ſexagenary widow remembers that ſhe was handſome, but forgets that it was thirty years ago, and thinks herſelf ſo, or at leaſt, very *likeable* ſtill. The pardonable affectations of her youth and beauty, unpardonably continue, increaſe even with her years, and are doubly exerted, in hopes of concealing the number. All the gaudy glittering parts of dreſs, which rather degraded than adorned her beauty in its bloom, now expoſe to the higheſt and juſteſt ridicule, her ſhrivelled or her overgrown carcaſe. She totters or ſweats under the load of her jewels, embroideries, and brocades, which like ſo many Egyptian hieroglyphics, ſerve only to authenticate the venerable antiquity of her auguſt mummy. Her eyes dimly twinkle tenderneſs, or leer deſire: their language, however inelegant, is intelligible; and the half-pay captain underſtands it. He addreſſes his vows to her vanity, which aſſures her they are ſincere. She pities him, and prefers him to credit, decency, and every ſocial duty. He tenderly prefers her (though not without ſome heſitation) to a jail.

"Self-love, kept within due bounds, is a natural and uſeful ſentiment. It is, in truth, ſocial love too, as Mr. Pope has very juſtly obſerved: it is the ſpring of many good actions, and of no ridiculous ones. But ſelf-flattery is only the ape or caricatura of ſelf-love, and reſembles it no more than is abſolutely neceſſary to heighten the ridicule. Like other flattery, it is the moſt profuſely beſtowed, and greedily ſwallowed, where it is the leaſt deſerved. I will conclude this ſubject with the ſubſtance of a

fable

fable of the ingenious monſieur De la Motte, which ſeems not unapplicable to it.

" Jupiter made a lottery in heaven, in which mortals, as well as the gods, were allowed to have tickets. The prize was WISDOM; and Minerva got it. The mortals murmured, and accuſed the gods of foul play. Jupiter, to wipe off this aſperſion, declared another lottery, for mortals ſingly, and excluſively of the gods. The prize was FOLLY. They got it, and ſhared it among themſelves. All were ſatisfied. The loſs of WISDOM was neither regretted nor remembered; FOLLY ſupplied its place, and thoſe who had the largeſt ſhare of it, thought themſelves the wiſeſt."

The WORLD.

Numb. 196. THURSDAY, Sept. 30, 1756.

" IT is a vulgar notion, and worthy of the vulgar, for it is both falſe and abſurd, That paſſionate people are the beſt-natured people in the world. *They are a little haſty, it is true; a trifle will put them into a fury, and while they are in that fury, they neither know nor care what they ſay or do: but then as ſoon as it is over, they are extremely ſorry and penitent for any injury or miſchief they did.* This panegyric on theſe choleric good-natured people, when examined and ſimplified, amounts in plain common ſenſe and Engliſh to this: that they are good-natured when they are not ill-natured; and that when in their fits of rage they have ſaid or done things that have brought them to the goal or the gallows, they are extremely ſorry for it. It is indeed highly probable that they are; but where is the reparation to thoſe whoſe reputations, limbs, or lives, they have either wounded or deſtroyed? This concern comes too late, and is only for themſelves. Self-love was the cauſe of the injury, and is the only motive of repentance.

" Had

" Had theſe furious people real good-nature, their firſt offence would be their laſt, and they would reſolve at all events never to relapſe. The moment they felt their choler riſing, they would enjoin themſelves an abſolute ſilence and inaction, and by that ſudden check rather expoſe themſelves to a momentary ridicule (which, by the way, would be followed by univerſal applauſe) than run the leaſt riſk of being irreparably miſchievous.

" I know it is ſaid in their behalf, that this impulſe to wrath is conſtitutionally ſo ſudden and ſo ſtrong, that they cannot ſtifle it even in its birth: but experience ſhews us, that this allegation is notoriouſly falſe; for we daily obſerve that theſe ſtormy perſons both can and do lay thoſe guſts of paſſion, when awed by reſpect, reſtrained by intereſt, or intimidated by fear. The moſt outrageous furioſo does not give a looſe to his anger in preſence of his ſovereign, or his miſtreſs; nor the expectant heir in preſence of the peeviſh dotard from whom he hopes for an inheritance. The ſoliciting courtier, though perhaps under the ſtrongeſt provocations, from unjuſt delays and broken promiſes, calmly ſwallows his unavailing wrath, diſguiſes it even under ſmiles, and gently waits for more favourable moments: nor does the criminal fly in a paſſion at his judge or his jury.

" There is then but one ſolid excuſe to be alledged in favour of thoſe people; and if they will frankly urge it, I will candidly admit it, becauſe it points out its own remedy. I mean, let them fairly confeſs themſelves mad, as they moſt unqueſtionably are: for what plea can thoſe that are frantic ten times a day, bring againſt ſhaving, bleeding, and a dark room, when ſo many much more harmleſs madmen are confined in their cells at Bedlam for being mad only once in a moon? Nay, I have been aſſured by the late ingenious doctor Monro, that ſuch of his patients who were really of a good-natured diſpoſition, and who in

their

their lucid intervals were allowed the liberty of walking about the hoſpital, would frequently, when they found the previous ſymptoms of their returning madneſs, voluntarily apply for confinement, conſcious of the miſchief which they might poſſibly do, if at liberty. If thoſe who pretend not to be mad, but who really are ſo, had the ſame fund of good-nature, they would make the ſame application to their friends, if they have any.

"There is in the Menagiana a very pretty ſtory of one of theſe angry gentlemen, which ſets their extravagancy in a very ridiculous light.

"Two gentlemen were riding together, one of whom, who was a choleric one, happened to be mounted on a high mettled horſe. The horſe grew a little troubleſome, at which the rider grew angry, and whipped and ſpurred him with great fury; to which the horſe, almoſt as wrongheaded as his maſter, replied with kicking and plunging. The companion, concerned for the danger, and aſhamed of the folly of his friend, ſaid to him cooly, *Be quiet, be quiet, and ſhew yourſelf the wiſer of the two.*

"This ſort of madneſs, for I will call it by no other name, flows from various cauſes, of which I ſhall now enumerate the moſt general.

"Light unballaſted heads are very apt to be overſet by every guſt, or even breeze of paſſion; they appretiate things wrong, and think every thing of importance, but what really is ſo: hence thoſe frequent and ſudden tranſitions from ſilly joy to ſillier anger, according as the preſent ſilly humour is gratified or thwarted. This is the never-failing characteriſtic of the uneducated vulgar, who often in the ſame half-hour fight with fury, and ſhake hands with affection. Such heads give themſelves no time to reaſon; and if you attempt to reaſon with them, they think you rally them, and reſent the affront. They are, in ſhort, overgrown children, and continue ſo in the moſt advanced age. Far be it from me to inſinuate, what ſome ill-

bred

bred authors have bluntly asserted, that this is in general the case of the fairest part of our species, whose great vivacity does not always allow them time to reason consequentially, but hurries them into testiness upon the least opposition to their will. But at the same time, with all the partiality which I have for them, and nobody can have more than I have, I must confess that in all their debates, I have much more admired the copiousness of their rhetoric, than the conclusiveness of their logic.

"People of strong animal spirits, warm constitutions, and a cold genius (a most unfortunate and ridiculous, though common compound) are most irascible animals, and very dangerous in their wrath.—They are active, puzzling, blundering, and petulantly enterprising and persevering. They are impatient of the least contradiction, having neither arguments nor words to reply with; and the animal part of their composition bursts out into furious explosions, which have often mischievous consequences. Nothing is too outrageous or criminal for them to say or do in these fits; but as the beginning of their frenzy is equally discoverable by their glaring eyes, inflamed countenances, and rapid motions, the company, as conservators of the peace (which, by the way, every man is, till the authority of a magistrate can be procured) should forcibly seize these madmen, and confine them in the mean time, in some dark closet, vault, or coal-hole.

"Men of nice honour, without one grain of common honesty (for such there are) are wonderfully combustible. The honourable is to support and protect the dishonest part of their character. The consciousness of their guilt makes them both sore and jealous.

"There is another very irascible sort of human animals, whose madness proceeds from pride. These are generally the people, who having just fortunes sufficient to live idle and useless to society, create themselves gentlemen, and are scrupulously tender of the rank

rank and dignity which they have not. They require the more reſpect, from being conſcious that they have no right to any. They conſtrue every thing into a ſlight, aſk explanations with heat, and miſunderſtand them with fury. *Who are you? What are you? Do you know who you ſpeak to? I'll teach you to be ſilent to a gentleman*, are their daily idioms of ſpeech, which frequently end in aſſault and battery, to the great emolument of the Round-houſe and Crown-office.

" I have known many young fellows, who at their firſt ſetting out into the world, or in the army, have ſimulated a paſſion which they did not feel, merely as an indication of ſpirit, which word is falſely looked upon as ſynonimous with courage. They dreſs and look fierce, ſwear enormouſly, and rage furiouſly, ſeduced by that popular word, ſpirit. But I beg leave to inform theſe miſtaken young gentlemen, whoſe error I compaſſionate, that the true ſpirit of a rational being conſiſts in cool and ſteady reſolution, which can only be the reſult of reflection and virtue.

" I am very ſorry to be obliged to own, that there is not a more irritable part of the ſpecies, than my brother authors. Criticiſm, cenſure, or even the ſlighteſt diſapprobation of their immortal works, excite their moſt furious indignation. It is true indeed that they expreſs their reſentment in a manner leſs dangerous both to others and to themſelves. Like incenſed porcupines, they dart their quills at the objects of their wrath. The wounds given by theſe ſhafts are not moral, and only painful in proportion to the diſtance from whence they fly. Thoſe which are diſcharged (as by much the greateſt numbers are) from great heights, ſuch as garrets, or four-pair-of-ſtair rooms, are puffed away by the wind, and never hit the mark; but thoſe which are let off from a firſt or ſecond floor, are apt to occaſion a little ſmarting, and ſometimes feſtering, eſpecially if the party wounded be unſound.

" Our

" Our GREAT CREATOR has wiſely given us paſſions, to rouze us into action, and to engage our gratitude to him by the pleaſures they procure us;—but at the ſame time he has kindly given us reaſon ſufficient, if we will but give that reaſon fair play, to controul thoſe paſſions; and has delegated authority to ſay to them, as he ſaid to the waters, " Thus far " ſhall ye go, and no farther." The angry man is his own ſevereſt tormentor; his breaſt knows no peace, while his raging paſſions are reſtrained by no ſenſe of either religious or moral duties. What would be his caſe, if his unforgiving example (if I may uſe ſuch an expreſſion) were followed by his ALL-MERCIFUL MAKER, whoſe forgiveneſs he can only hope for, in proportion as he himſelf forgives and loves his fellow-creatures."

The WORLD.

Numb. 197. THURSDAY, October 7, 1756.

" IF we give credit to the vulgar opinion, or even to the aſſertions of ſome reputable authors both ancient and modern, poor human nature was not originally formed for keeping: every age has degenerated; and from the fall of the firſt man, my unfortunate anceſtor, our ſpecies has been tumbling on, century by century, from bad to worſe, for about ſix thouſand years.

" Conſidering this progreſſive ſtate of deterioration, it is a very great mercy that things are no worſe with us at preſent; ſince, geometrically ſpeaking, the human ought by this time to have ſunk infinitely below the brute and the vegetable ſpecies, which are neither of them ſuppoſed to have dwindled or degenerated conſiderably, except in a very few inſtances: for it muſt be owned that our modern oaks are inferior to thoſe of Dodona, our breed of horſes to that of the Centaurs, and our breed of fowls to that of the Phœnixes.

" But

" But is this really the caſe? Certainly not. It is only one of thoſe many errors which are artfully ſcattered by the deſigns of a few, and blindly adopted by the ignorance and folly of the many. The moving exclamations of—*theſe ſad times! this degenerate age!* the affecting lamentations over *declining virtue* and *triumphant vice*, and the tender and final farewel bidden every day to unrewarded and diſcouraged public ſpirit, arts and ſciences, are the common-place topics of the pride, the envy, and the malignity of the human heart, that can more eaſily forgive, and even commend, antiquated and remote, than bear cotemporary and contiguous merit. Men of theſe mean ſentiments have always been the ſatiriſts of their own, and the panegyriſts of former times. They give this tone, which fools, like birds in the dark, catch by ear, and whiſtle all day long.

" As it has conſtantly been my endeavour to root out, if I could, or, if I could not, to expoſe the vices of the human heart, it ſhall be the object of this day's paper to examine this ſtrange inverted entail of virtue and merit upwards, according to priority of birth, and ſeniority of age. I ſhall prove it to be forged, and conſequently null and void to all intents and purpoſes whatſoever.

" If I loved to jingle, I would ſay that human nature has always been invariably the ſame, though always varying; that is, the ſame in ſubſtance, but varying in forms and modes, from many concurrent cauſes, of which perhaps we know but few. Climate, education, accidents, ſeverally contribute to change thoſe modes; but in all climates, and in all ages, we diſcover through them the ſame paſſions, affections, and appetites, and the ſame degree of virtues and vices.

" This being unqueſtionably the true ſtate of the caſe, which it would be endleſs to bring inſtances to prove from the hiſtories of all times and of all nations, I ſhall, by way of warning to the incautious, and of re-

reproof to the deſigning, proceed to explain the reaſons, which I have but juſt hinted at above, why the human nature of the time being has always been reckoned the worſt and moſt degenerate.

" Authors, eſpecially poets, tho' great men, are, alas! but men; and like other men, ſubject to the weakneſſes of human nature, though perhaps in a leſs degree: but it is however certain that their breaſts are not abſolutely ſtrangers to the paſſions of jealouſy, pride, and envy. Hence it is that they are very apt to meaſure merit by the century, to love dead authors better than living ones, and to love them the better the longer they have been dead.—The Auguſtan age is therefore their favourite æra, being at leaſt ſeventeen hundred years diſtant from the preſent. That emperor was not only a judge of wit, but, for an emperor, a tolerable performer too; and Mæcenas, his firſt miniſter, was both a patron and a poet: he not only encouraged and protected, but fed and fattened men of wit at his own table, as appears from Horace: no ſmall encouragement for panegyric. Thoſe were times indeed for genius to diſplay itſelf in! It was honoured, taſted, and rewarded. But now——*O tempora! O mores!* One muſt however do juſtice to the authors, who thus declaim againſt their own times, by acknowledging that they are ſeldom the aggreſſors; their own times have commonly begun with them. It is their reſentment, not their judgment (if they have any) that ſpeaks this language. Anger and deſpair make them endeavour to lower that merit, which, till brought very low indeed, they are conſcious they cannot equal.

" There is another and more numerous ſet of much greater men, who ſtill more loudly complain of the ignorance, the corruption, and the degeneracy of the preſent age. Theſe are the conſummate volunteer, but unregarded and unrewarded politicians, who at a modeſt computation amount to at leaſt three

three millions of ſouls in this political country, and who are all of them both able and willing to ſteer the great veſſel of the ſtate, and to take upon themſelves the whole load of buſineſs and burthen of *employments*, for the ſervice of their dear country. The adminiſtration for the time being is always the worſt, the moſt incapable, the moſt corrupt, that ever was, and negligent of every thing but their own intereſt. *Where are now your Cecils and your Walſinghams?*— Thoſe who aſk that queſtion could anſwer it, if they would ſpeak out, *Themſelves:* For they are all that, and more too.

" I ſtept the other day, in order only to inquire how my poor country did, into a coffee-houſe, that is without diſpute the ſeat of the ſoundeſt politics in this great metropolis, and ſat myſelf down within ear-ſhot of the principal council-table. Fortunately for me, the preſident, a perſon of age, dignity, and becoming gravity, had juſt begun to ſpeak. He ſtated with infinite perſpicuity and knowledge the preſent ſtate of affairs in other countries, and the lamentable ſituation of our own. He traced with his finger upon the table, by the help of ſome coffee which he had ſpilt in the warmth of his exordium, the whole courſe of the Ohio, and the boundaries of the Ruſſian, Pruſſian, Auſtrian, and Saxon dominions; foreſaw a long and bloody war upon the continent, calculated the ſupplies neceſſary for carrying it on, and pointed out the beſt methods for raiſing them, which, for that very reaſon, he intimated would not be purſued. He wound up his diſcourſe with a moſt pathetic peroration, which he concluded with ſaying, *Things were not carried on this way in Queen Elizabeth's days; the public was conſidered, and able men were conſulted and employed. Thoſe were days!* " Aye, ſir, and nights too, I preſume, (ſaid a " young fellow who ſtood near him) ſome longer " and ſome ſhorter, according to the variation of " the ſeaſons; pretty much like ours." Mr. Preſident

ſident was a little ſurpriſed at the ſuddenneſs and pertneſs of this interruption; but recompoſing himſelf, anſwered with that cool contempt that becomes a great man, "I did not mean aſtronomical days, but politi-
"cal ones." The young fellow replied, "O then,
"ſir, I am your ſervant," and went off in a laugh.

"Thus informed and edified I went off too, but could not help reflecting in my way, upon the ſingular ill-luck of this my dear country, which, as long as ever I remember it, and as far back as I have read, has always been governed by the only two or three people, out of two or three millions, totally incapable of governing, and unfit to be truſted. But theſe reflections were ſoon interrupted by numbers of people, whom I obſerved crowding into a public houſe.—Among them I diſcovered my worthy friend and taylor, that induſtrious mechanic, Mr. Regnier. I applied to him to know the meaning of that concourſe; to which, with his uſual humanity, he anſwered,——
"We are the maſter-taylors, who are to meet to-
"night to conſider what is to be done about our jour-
"neymen, who inſult and impoſe upon us, to the
"great detriment of trade." I aſked him whether under his protection I might ſlip in and hear their deliberations. He ſaid, yes, and welcome; for that they ſhould do nothing to be aſhamed of. I profited of this permiſſion, and following him into the room, found a conſiderable number of theſe ingenious artiſts aſſembled, and waiting only for the arrival of my friend, who it ſeems was too conſiderable for buſineſs to begin without him. He accordingly took the lead, opened the meeting with a very handſome ſpeech, in which he gave many inſtances of the inſolence, the unreaſonableneſs, and the exorbitant demands of the journeymen taylors, and concluded with obſerving,
"that if the government minded any thing now-a-
"days but themſelves, ſuch abuſes would not have
"been ſuffered; and had they been but attempted in
"queen Elizabeth's days, ſhe would have *worked*
"them

" them with a witneſs." Another orator then roſe up to ſpeak; but as I was ſure that he could ſay nothing better than what had juſt fallen from my worthy friend, I ſtole off unobſerved, and was purſuing my way home, when in the very next ſtreet I diſcovered a much greater number of people (though by their dreſs of ſeemingly inferior note) ruſhing into another public houſe. As numbers always excite my curioſity, almoſt as much as they mutually do each other's paſſions, I crowded in with them, in order to diſcover the object of this meeting, not without ſome ſuſpicion that this frequent ſenate might be compoſed of the journeymen taylors, and convened in oppoſition to that which I had juſt left. My ſuſpicion was ſoon confirmed by the eloquence of a journeyman, a finiſher, I preſume, who expatiated with equal warmth and dignity, upon the injuſtice and oppreſſion of the maſter taylors, to the utter ruin of thouſands of poor journeymen and their families; and concluded with aſſerting, " it was a ſhame that the government and " the parliament did not take notice of ſuch abuſes; " and that had the maſter taylors done theſe things in " queen Elizabeth's days, ſhe would have *maſtered* " them with a vengeance, ſo ſhe would."

" I confeſs I could not help ſmiling at this ſingular conformity of ſentiments, and almoſt of expreſſions, of the maſter politicians, the maſter taylors, and the journeymen taylors. I am convinced that the two latter really and honeſtly believed what they ſaid; it not being in the leaſt improbable that their underſtandings ſhould be the dupes of their intereſts; but I will not ſo peremptorily anſwer for the interior conviction of the political orator; though at the ſame time, I muſt do him the juſtice to ſay, he ſeemed full dull enough to be very much in earneſt.

" The ſeveral ſcenes of this day ſuggeſted to me when I got home various reflections, which perhaps I may communicate to my readers in ſome future paper."

The following little poetical pieces are well known to

to be the earl of Cheſterfield's; and, as I do not know exactly at what period of his life they were written, I ſhall inſert them here. They have all that elegance of turn, and happineſs of expreſſion, which ſo eminently diſtinguiſh his Lordſhip's writings.

ADVICE to a *Lady* in AUTUMN.

ASSES milk, half a pint, take at ſeven, or before
Then ſleep for an hour, or two—and no more.
At nine ſtretch your arms; and, oh think, when alone:
There's no pleaſure in bed!—"Mary, bring me my gown."
Slip on that ere you riſe; let your caution be ſuch;
Keep all cold from your breaſt, there's already too much.
Your pinners ſet right, your twitcher tied on,
Your prayers at an end, and your breakfaſt quite done;
Retire to ſome author improving and gay,
And with ſenſe like your own, ſet your mind for the day.
At twelve you may walk; for, at this time o'the year,
The ſun, like your wit, is as mild as 'tis clear;
But mark in the meadows the ruin of time,
Take the hint, and let life be improved in its prime.
Return not in haſte, nor of dreſſing take heed;
For beauty like yours no aſſiſtance can need.
With an appetite, thus, down to dinner you ſit,
Where the chief of the feaſt is the flow of your wit:
Let this be indulged, and let laughter go round;
As it pleaſes your mind, to your health 'twill redound;
After dinner two glaſſes, at leaſt, I approve;
Name the firſt to the king, and the laſt to your love:
Thus chearful with wiſdom, with innocence gay,
And calm with your joys gently glide through the day.
The dews of the evening moſt carefully ſhun;
Thoſe tears of the ſky for the loſs of the ſun:
Then in chat, or at play, with a dance or a ſong,
Let the night, like the day, paſs with pleaſure along.
All cares, but of love, baniſh far from your mind;
And thoſe you may end—when you pleaſe to be kind.

ON

On a Lady's drinking the BATH WATERS.

THE gushing streams impetuous flow
In haste to Delia's lips to go;
With equal haste, and equal heat,
Who would not rush those lips to meet?
Bless'd envy'd streams! still greater bliss
Attends your warm and liquid kiss:
For, from her lips, your welcome tide
Shall down her heaving bosom glide;
There fill each swelling globe of love,
And touch that heart I ne'er could move;
From thence in soft meanders stray,
And find, at last, the blissful way,
Which thought may paint, tho' verse may'nt say.
Too happy rival! dwell not there,
To rack my heart with jealous care;
But quit the blest abode—though loth,
And, quickly passing, ease us both.

VERSES written in a Lady's SHERLOCK upon Death.

MISTAKEN fair, lay Sherlock by,
His doctrine is deceiving;
For, while he teaches us to die,
He cheats us of our living.

To die's a lesson we shall know
Too soon, without a master;
Then let us only study now
How we may live the faster.

To live's to love, to bless, be blest
With mutual inclination;
Share then my ardour in your breast,
And kindly meet my passion.

But if thus bleſt I may not live,
And pity you deny,
To me at leaſt your Sherlock give;
'Tis I muſt learn to die.

SONG.

WHEN Fanny, blooming fair!
Firſt caught my raviſh'd ſight,
Struck with her ſhape and air,
I felt a ſtrange delight:
Whilſt eagerly I gaz'd,
Admiring every part,
And every feature prais'd,
She ſtole into my heart.

In her bewitching eyes
Ten thouſand loves appear;
There Cupid baſking lies,
His ſhafts are hoarded there.
Her blooming cheeks are dy'd
With colour all their own,
Excelling far the pride
Of roſes newly blown.

Her well-turn'd limbs confeſs
The lucky hand of Jove;
Her features all expreſs
The beauteous queen of love.
What flames my nerves invade,
When I behold the breaſt
Of that too charming maid
Riſe ſuing to be preſs'd!

Venus round Fanny's waiſt
Has her own ceſtus bound,
With guardian Cupids grac'd,
Who dance the circle round.

How

How happy muſt he be,
Who ſhall her zone unlooſe!
That bliſs—to all but me,—
May Heaven and ſhe refuſe!

Soon after Mr. Stanhope left England, we find the following melancholy account of his Lordſhip's health in a letter from Bath, dated the fourteenth of December, 1756.

"My dear friend," ſays he to his ſon, "what can I ſay to you from this place, where "every day is ſtill but as the firſt?" though by no means ſo agreeably paſſed as Antony deſcribes his to have been. The ſame things ſucceed one another every day, with me, as regularly and uniformly as the hours of the day. You will think this tireſome, and ſo it is; but how can I help it? Cut off from ſociety by my deafneſs, and diſpirited by my ill health, where could I be better? You will ſay, perhaps, where could you be worſe? Only in priſon, or the galleys, I confeſs. However, I ſee a period to my ſtay here; and I have fixed in my mind a time for my return to London; not invited there either by politics or pleaſures, to both which I am equally a ſtranger, but merely to be at home; which, after all, according to the vulgar ſaying, is home, be it never ſo homely."

Before his Lordſhip left Bath, however, which was in the month of January, 1757, his health was conſiderably reſtored; and in the September following, we find him addreſſing his ſon, who was now ſettled at Hamburgh, with his uſual gaiety.

"Admit me," ſays he, "to your fire-ſide, in your little room; and as you would converſe with me there, write to me for the future from thence. Are you completely *nippé* yet? Have you formed what the world calls connexions? That is, a certain number of acquaintances, whom from accident or choice you frequent more than others? Have you either fine or well-bred women there? *Y a-t-il quelque*

bon ton? All fat and fair, I preſume: too proud and too cold to make advances; but, at the ſame time, too well-bred and too warm to reject them, when made by *un honnête homme avec des maniéres.*"

And in another letter he ſays, with ſtill more ſportfulneſs,

"The private news from Hamburgh is, that his majeſty's reſident there is woundily in love with madame * * * *: if this be true, God ſend him, rather than her, a good *delivery*. She muſt be *etrenné* at this ſeaſon [this letter was written on New-year's day], and therefore I think you ſhould be ſo too; ſo draw upon me, as ſoon as you pleaſe, for one hundred pounds.—If this is the caſe," adds he, "you will ſoon be out of her chains; for I have, by long experience, found women to be like Telephus's ſpear: if one end kills, the other cures."

But notwithſtanding his Lordſhip's good humour, his health was by no means confirmed; and he was almoſt totally deprived of his hearing, which he actually loſt many years before his death. He was continually removing from London to Blackheath, from Blackheath to Bath, and back again to London; for which he makes the following rational apology.

"I ſhould not," ſays he, "take all this trouble merely to prolong the fag-end of a life, from which I can expect no pleaſure, and others no utility; but the cure, or at leaſt the mitigation, of thoſe phyſical ills, which make life a load, while it does laſt, is worth any trouble and attention: for "to be, or not to be," is a queſtion of much leſs importance, in my mind, than to be or not to be well."—And in a future letter, written in October, 1758, he adds, "I have found ſo little benefit by theſe [Bath] waters, that I do not intend to ſtay here above a week longer; and then remove my crazy body to London, which is the moſt convenient place either to live or die in."

But

But in a letter from London, written in March, 1759, we have the following agreeable information, accompanied with the moſt elegant pleaſantry.

"I am rather better than I was," ſays he, "which I owe not to my phyſicians, but to an aſs and a cow, who nouriſh me, between them, very plentifully and wholeſomely: in the morning the aſs is my nurſe, at night the cow; and I have juſt now bought a milch-goat, which is to graze, and nurſe me, at Blackheath. I do not know what may come of this latter; and I am not without apprehenſions that it may make a ſatyr of me; but ſhould I find that obſcene diſpoſition growing on me, I will check it in time, for fear of endangering my life and character by rapes."

He continues the account of his health, with the ſame good-humour, in a letter from Blackheath, the May following.

"I have been ſettled here near a week," ſays he, "to my great ſatisfaction; *c'eſt ma place*, and I know it, which is not given to every body. Cut off from ſocial life by my deafneſs, as well as other phyſical ills, and being at beſt but the ghoſt of my former ſelf, I walk here in ſilence and ſolitude, as becomes a ghoſt, with this only difference, that I walk by day; whereas you know, to be ſure, that other ghoſts only appear by night. My health, however, is better than it was laſt year, thanks to my total milk diet. This enables me to vary my ſolitary amuſements, and alternately to ſcribble as well as read, which I could not do laſt year. Thus I ſaunter away the remainder, be it more or leſs, of an agitated and active life, now reduced (and I am not ſure that I am a loſer by the change) to ſo quiet and ſerene a one, that it may properly be called *ſtill life*."

This compoſed chearfulneſs of his Lordſhip's mind was leſs the effect of temperament than philoſophy, as he tells us, taught by experience and knowledge of the world.

"I always,"

"I always," ſays he," made the beſt of the beſt, and never bad worſe, by fretting. This enabled me to go through the various ſcenes of life, in which I have been an actor, with more pleaſure and leſs pain than moſt people.—You will ſay perhaps," adds he, to his ſon, "one cannot change one's nature; and that if a perſon is born of a ſenſible gloomy temper, and apt to ſee things in the worſt light, they cannot help it, nor new-make themſelves. I will admit it to a certain degree, and but to a certain degree: for, though we cannot totally change our nature, we may, in a great meaſure, correct it by reflection and philoſophy; and ſome philoſophy is a very neceſſary companion in this world, where, even to the fortunate, the chances are greatly againſt happineſs."

In theſe ſentiments his Lordſhip lived, and in theſe ſentiments too he ſeems to have died; for, in the year 1763, we find him expreſſing himſelf thus:—"I am by no means right yet; I am very weak and flimſy ſtill; but the doctor aſſures me that my health and ſpirits will return. If they do, *lucro opponam*, I will make the beſt of them; if they do not, I will not make their want ſtill worſe, by grieving and regretting them. I have lived long enough, and obſerved enough, to eſtimate moſt things at their intrinſic, and not their imaginary value; and at ſeventy, I find nothing much worth either deſiring or fearing. But theſe reflections," adds he, to his ſon, "which ſuit with ſeventy, would be greatly premature at two and thirty; ſo make the beſt of your time; enjoy the preſent hour, but *memor ultimæ*."—And in a letter from Bath, dated the 27th of October, 1771, he ſays to Mrs. Stanhope, "Upon my word, madam, you intereſt yourſelf in the ſtate of my exiſtence more than I do myſelf; for it is worth the care of neither of us. I ordered my *valet de chambre*, according to your orders, to inform you of my ſafe arrival here; to which I can add nothing, being neither better nor worſe."

Upon

Upon another occaſion he ſays, "I feel a gradual decay, though a gentle one; and think that I ſhall not tumble, [and he was not miſtaken] but ſlide gently to the bottom of the hill of life. When that will be I neither know nor care, for I am very *weary*."—Heaven relieved him from that wearineſs, on the 25th day of March, in the year 1773, and the 78th year of his age.

Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Cheſterfield, was a ſlight made man, of the middle ſize, rather genteel than handſome, either in face or perſon; but there was a certain ſuavity in his countenance, which, accompanied with a polite addreſs and pleaſing elocution, obtained him in a wonderful degree the admiration of both ſexes, and made his ſuit irreſiſtible with either. He was naturally poſſeſſed of fine ſenſibility; but by a habit of maſtering his paſſions, and diſguiſing his feelings, he at length arrived at the appearance of the moſt perfect Stoiciſm: nothing ſurpriſed, alarmed, or diſcompoſed him. His capacity was ſtrong, and his learning extenſive; his wit brilliant, and his humour eaſy: and what has leſſened his reputation with a certain claſs of readers, is his higheſt praiſe. His compoſitions diſdain that ſtilted dignity, which is ſo often miſtaken for genius; like his manners, they are more elegant than lofty: his talents have nothing of Gothic violence, and his learning is brought down to the level of poliſhed life. As a public ſpeaker he was able, eloquent, and correct, intimately acquainted with the intereſts of his country, and of Europe; as a patriot he was warm, bold, and incorruptible; as a ſtateſman, and a negociator, he was deep, cunning, pliant, and to a certain degree deceitful. As a private nobleman, he was apparently open, and engagingly free and communicative to his equals; attentively polite, even to his inferiors; and, in the preſence of his ſuperiors, princes and potentates, profoundly reſpectful, yet perfectly unembarraſſed. He was generous, and even profuſe, in the former part

part of his life; in the latter, he was perhaps too parſimonious: but the laudableneſs of the motive, a deſire to ſave a fortune for his natural ſon, to whom he could not tranſmit his eſtate, will certainly be deemed a ſufficient apology. Vanity appears to have been his only foible, and gaming his only vice; the firſt might be attended with ſome good conſequences, the latter with none; it hurt both his health and his fortune; and during the beſt part of his life made him the dupe of a ſet of ſharpers, who conſidered him as their prey, and whom any man, leſs infatuated, might have ſeen had nothing to loſe. But of this folly, as well as the futility of pompous greatneſs, he was fully ſenſible many years before his death; and, following nature by the light of experience, ſocial yet temperate, grave yet gay, he might be truly ſaid to live the life of REASON.

If any thing can be added to this character, it is his Lordſhip's pious reſignation to the will of his Creator. Amid all his bodily infirmities, and notwithſtanding the loſs of his only ſon, (who died in November, 1768, and with whom all his worldly hopes periſhed), he ſtill, in a great meaſure, preſerved his native chearfulneſs; and, as he expreſſes it himſelf, he was willing even "to crawl as an inſect" on that earth which he had once, in ſome degree, ruled. But Heaven was kinder; for, except his hearing, he retained to the laſt the perfect uſe of his FACULTIES, as the reward of his VIRTUES.

FINIS.

Mr Stanhope Died Novbr. 1768